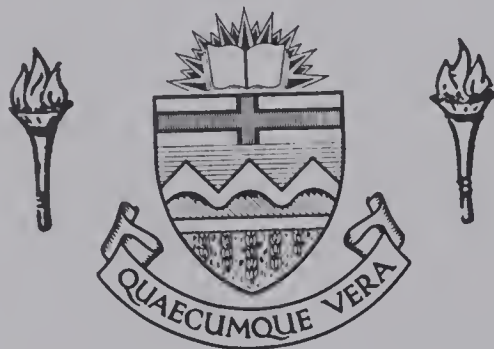


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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

SECULARIZATION AND RELIGION IN ALBERTA

by



DONALD C. HARPER

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and  
recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance,  
a thesis entitled "Secularization and Religion in Alberta",  
submitted by Donald C. Harper in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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## ABSTRACT

The relationship between religion and other social institutions is the subject matter of the Sociology of Religion. In modern complex societies, religion (as with all institutions) is becoming increasingly secularized.

The Province of Alberta has had an unusual history, particularly with regard to its political and religious institutions and the relationship between the two. During the 1930's an unstable social structure proved to be fertile ground for the growth of fundamentalistic religion. The leading evangelist of the day entered the political sphere at the helm of the Social Credit movement, and because of his dual role became extremely influential in the development of a world-view that was meaningful to Albertans. Religious thought became basic to the attitudes of a significant proportion of Alberta residents.

Traditional religious forms were unable or unwilling to alter their rigid structures and adapt to the unusual socio-economic conditions prevalent in the 1930's. Sects, by damning the existent social system while morally justifying deprivation in terms of greater rewards to be reaped in the next world, gained greatly from denominations, which by supporting the status quo were endorsing a system that was on the verge of collapse, and one which was associated with much hardship and unhappiness.

Sects tend to become stabilized and somewhat denominational in character. Denominations, because of the forces



of secularization, have been relegated to the secondary role of sanctifying the dominant value-system of society. In American society this value-system is the "middle-class ethos" -- ego-centric, pragmatic, and materialistic.

Alberta has remained somewhat resistant to the general trend of secularization. There has not been a decrease in the proportion of the population affiliated with sects, nor have sects lost their appeal for young people. The expressed values of members of denominations, particularly for those individuals of lower socio-economic status, still differ from one denomination to the next. Some changes are evident in terms of the values historically associated with particular faiths. The weltanschauung of Albertans does not appear to be predominantly pragmatic and profane.



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. The Problem

The sociology of religion is concerned with the problem of analyzing the "sociological significance of certain past and present institutions and movements".<sup>1</sup> That is, it involves the study of the interrelation of those institutions and movements considered to be religious<sup>2</sup> with other structures within societies. Basic to such study is the assumption, enunciated by Joachim Wach, "that religious impulses, ideas and institutions influence, and in turn are influenced by, social forces, social organization, and stratification".<sup>3</sup> The primary purpose of this thesis is to study the changing patterns of religious affiliation in the province of Alberta over the past thirty-five years. It is assumed that the religious beliefs of Alberta residents have been, and are, inextricably intertwined with other socio-economic factors.

Specifically, the thesis will attempt to determine whether there has been a general trend away from fundamentalistic sect-type religion towards a more materialistic/pragmatic this-worldly denominationalism, and whether the value-systems of members of different denominations have become essentially similar and secular as opposed to religious. Such trends have been well documented in the United States both on a national and a community scale.







Most writings on Alberta still characterize it as a "Bible Belt", however, making it a meaningful study to determine to what extent such a label has outlived its applicability. The problem of this thesis then is to test certain hypotheses derived from writings in the sociology of religion concerning changes in the nature of religious beliefs in Alberta.

The theoretical position adopted in this thesis avoids some of the historically contentious issues surrounding religion and the problem of social causality. That is, it assumes that there is an interactive effect between the technology and economic organization of a society, and its normative and belief systems. This position dissolves rather than solves the contradiction between the conception (usually associated with Karl Marx<sup>4</sup>) that religious beliefs are mere epiphenomena, reflective of the economic base in a society, and the one (usually associated with Max Weber<sup>5</sup>) that religious beliefs and practices so affect the behavior of their adherents that they determine the nature of the economic system. The socio-religious conditions in Alberta during the 1930's will be discussed at length in Chapter II, at which time it will become apparent that the course of rather unusual developments that took place can best be understood by considering religious changes to be both consequence and cause of political and economic shifts.

Another question that is somewhat of a contentious issue in the literature, and which has particular relevance for the study of religion in Alberta, is the relative importance of individuals in the creation and sustaining of religious movements, as



opposed to a collective initiation and constraint (whereby individuals are considered to be mere instruments of the "group will"). Wach points out that neither thesis has been born out in its entirety, although he clearly supports a minority position within sociology adhering more strongly to the individualistic approach than to the collectivistic.<sup>6</sup> In Alberta, as will be pointed out in Chapter II, individuals have definitely played a significant part in both religious and political developments.

The remainder of this chapter will deal with the two major concerns of the thesis, namely the nature of religion as a social phenomenon, and the process of secularization and how it affects religion in the contemporary world.

#### B. Religion as a Social Phenomenon

The source of religious behavior must be sought with reference to the fact that man alone exhibits such behavior. Man is distinguished from animals by virtue of the fact that he creates and bears a culture which to a large extent is dependent on his language. In creating, and living by, systems of symbols, man adapts to and modifies his environment. Parsons emphasizes the importance of the systematic aspect of language (and culture) pointing out that a mere collection of symbols does not constitute a language.<sup>7</sup> Emile Durkheim effectively elaborates the idea that religion was a systematic social phenomenon.

"A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden--beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them."<sup>8</sup>



More recent studies of religion have focused not on the origins of beliefs and practices, as was the tendency during the nineteenth century, but on the functional relationships of religion as an institution within a complex society.<sup>9</sup> In Birth of the Gods<sup>10</sup> Swanson undertakes to explore the validity of Durkheim's thesis that sacred objects (objects set apart and forbidden) are in reality symbols representing the force society exerts on the individual, by examining the interrelations between religious beliefs and practices of fifty human societies and their social structures. This work illustrates how Durkheim bridged the gap between the earlier evolutionists and the later functionalists by arguing "...that one does not need to speculate about the ultimate origins of religious belief and practice in the long lost past, since the same force which worked then to generate such phenomena is at work today".<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the concern that is now centered on the relationships of religion to other institutions, considerable study of the internal structure of religious movements has been undertaken. Speaking generally, Davis describes religion as 'involving interaction characterized by the "utmost suggestibility and crowd interstimulation" with an abundance of public ritual, and being "symbolic, expressive, rhythmic, repetitive, conventional, and colorful". It is a means of revitalizing the individual's devotion to the values of the group.<sup>12</sup> However, the specific manner in which it achieves this end varies considerably from one religious group to the next -- from one type of structure to another. Certain types of religious organization are best described as





prophetic movements (dependent upon a prophet or charismatic leader) while others are highly formalized and require only that an appropriately qualified individual be available to fill a prescribed position. Chapter III will distinguish more clearly between these two types of religious organization. The parts played by each type in the religious development of Alberta will become apparent in Chapter II.

The social functions of religion, both for the religious group itself and for the wider society, can be classified as contributions to pattern maintenance, tension management, and integration. Symbolism plays an extremely important role to this end because religion tends to deal with intangible entities so much of the time -- if they are to be available at all to the consciousness of man it must be symbolically. An understanding of the sacred objects which serve as the foci of systems of belief and practice within the large, complex societies of the Western World necessitates looking beyond the bounds of traditional forms of formalized religion. Davis points out that any society depends for its existence upon the presence in the minds of its members of a certain system of sentiments by which the conduct of the individual is regulated in conformity with the needs of the society.<sup>13</sup> In the words of Robin M. Williams:

"Every functioning society has, to an important degree, a common religion. The possession of a common set of ideas, rituals and symbols can supply an overarching sense of unity even in a society otherwise riddled with conflicts."<sup>14</sup>

Glock points out that the concept of social integration is an ideal-typical one and thus does not imply that universal





consensus is characteristic of every society. He maintains however, that "considerable consensus" must exist if a society is to avoid disintegrating.<sup>15</sup>

A useful distinction among phenomena considered within the realm of religion has been made by Will Herberg. The term "religion" is used in three identifiable ways: (1) to describe a "system of attitudes, beliefs, feelings, standards, and practices that in the particular society, generally receive the name of religion" (this Herberg calls "conventional religion"); (2) to describe a system of similar phenomena that in actual fact provide the society with a weltanschauung (this is called "operative religion"); and (3) to describe the existential basis for one's being -- "the structure of one's being oriented to one's ultimate concern".<sup>16</sup> The distinction between the second and third phenomena (the operative religion and the existential understanding functioning within a society) is a philosophical distinction with little relevance for the sociologist. However, the identification of conventional religion as opposed to operative religion is a very useful analytical distinction. It points out, for example, that the study of religion takes on a new and remarkably more complex nature when one moves from the simple Gemeinschaft to the Gesellschaft society. In the ideal type of the former there is but one system of beliefs and practices to regulate the behavior of members of the society to insure that they conform to the needs of that society, that is, the conventional religion and the operational religion coincide. In the latter it becomes necessary to identify, and specify the relationships between, different levels of value and



normative systems.

"...we may now have reached the point in the development of the sociology of religion where we should pay less attention to ideal types and more attention to the various dimensions of religious organization and their interrelationships."<sup>17</sup>

It is a search for an over-riding value system in American society that has led such writers as Herberg<sup>18</sup> and Cox<sup>19</sup> to speak of a cultural religion which is basically secular and functional (pragmatic) in nature.

### C. The Process of Secularization

Pfautz's article "The Sociology of Secularization: Religious Groups" describes secularization as a general social process. Religious groups are not alone in undergoing this process -- other economic and political institutions are similarly affected:

"So, too, dichotomies such as sacred and secular societies, folk culture and state civilization, the sequence from folk to feudal to urban society, express largely similar processes as are seen in religious organizations."<sup>20</sup>

This theme has been developed in greater detail by other writers, notably Harvey Cox. In The Secular City he draws upon a model developed by the Dutch sociologist and lay theologian Cornelius A. van Peursen, which places human social development into three stages. The first stage is described as a rural-based, mythical era; the second is a town-based ontological era; and the third (and current stage) is a technopolis-based functional era. The parallels between this formulation and that of August Comte<sup>21</sup>



and Pitrim Sorokin<sup>22</sup> are obvious. Using the terminology of van Peursen, Cox comments:

"The fact that urban-secular man is incurably and irreversibly pragmatic, that he is less concerned with religious questions, is in no sense a disaster. It means that he is shedding the lifeless cuticles of the mythical and ontological periods and stepping into the functional age."<sup>23</sup>

For Cox the rise of urban civilization and the corresponding decline of traditional forms of religion are the hallmarks of our era. They have given rise to a qualitatively different Weltanschauung.<sup>24</sup>

Acquaviva speaks of the change in life style as taking the form of an overall acceleration of life -- as restriction and even elimination of the time devoted to an 'inner' or 'religious' life due to the organization of each day in terms of work and pleasure.<sup>25</sup> The new roles a person takes on in an urban, technological society are concerned with "a world of individuals, things, ideas which are all very different than those of former times".<sup>26</sup> These new roles force a radical change in the cognitions of man: they require the development of a new sense of rhythm (time) and new perceptual categories sensitive to the changing needs of man in society -- in short a new mentality.<sup>27</sup>

"Adjustment and revision of the cognitive and social behavior attitudes are imposed by the cultural processes which submit individuals to apprenticeship situations."<sup>28</sup>

Discussions such as Acquaviva's state in simplified form the concern of the Sociology of Knowledge. C. S. Rodd states the implication more directly yet in a cautious way:





"It appears reasonably certain that the values which are held by individuals are closely linked to the social system within which they live. This is not to accept any one-way deterministic view of society or to hold that society on its own moulds the individual..."<sup>29</sup>

The fact that we live in an age of technology has influenced men to think in empirical categories.<sup>30</sup> In discussing the relationship of religious preference to worldly success Mayer and Sharp also point out that religious thought and behavior are not independent attributes of the individual but are closely related to a host of cultural variables.<sup>31</sup>

A more detailed discussion of this idea is offered by Charles Glock who sets up a model of human behavior in terms of norms, values and beliefs.<sup>32</sup> Norms describe the socially prescribed means of obtaining the social goals (values or ends) within a society. Beliefs provide the rationale for behavior. Norms are essentially dependent on tradition and thus tend to elicit rote responses, while values define preferred states of being and beliefs justify behavior by systematizing assumptions about the nature of man and the universe. Within a complex society there is inevitably conflict because traditional (rote) responses become inappropriate for the attainment of changing values and inconsistent with assumptions regarding the nature of things based on newly acquired knowledge. Norms lose their self-warranting character when they frustrate values. With these principles in mind, he comments as follows:





"How man behaves, and what he values, is not informed by his faith, but by the norms and values of the larger society of which he is a part. Confronted on the one hand by the abstract prescriptions of his faith and on the other by the concrete norms and values made explicit by law, by the context in which he labors and by secular groups, man is almost inexorably led to follow the latter -- partly because their sanctioning systems are more salient but also because the nature of a religiously inspired choice is not clear."<sup>33</sup>

Mayer and Sharp support this idea with specific reference to economic behavior by pointing out that "...religion per se is of lesser importance in guiding economic achievement in contemporary society than are other cultural factors...."<sup>34</sup> Rosconi states that religion is suffering from an inability to find its place in the global image of society, and that consequently religious contents have been transferred into partial, compensatory images which are integrated with the secular system.<sup>35</sup>

Rosconi's analysis is best understood in terms of the distinction made by Herberg between conventional religion and operative religion -- "a global image" refers to the operative religion of a society. The use of terms such as "crisis" with reference to the current state of (conventional) religion would indicate that a writer sees the decline of these social patterns as regrettable: secularization is a "problem". In Herberg's words:

"...secularism as a problem might be said to appear only when conventional religion and operative religion no longer coincide, but rather begin to diverge and perhaps even to conflict."<sup>36</sup>

Historically it would appear that there has always been some conflict between what Durkheim so astutely distinguished as the



sacred and the profane. From the frame of reference of conventional religion one might say, with Acquaviva, that there have been permanent sources of irreligion present through the centuries, but that with the coming of industrialization and urbanization they have been multiplied and intensified.<sup>37</sup> Gilkey, perhaps more objectively, says that "...the sacred and the profane have historically illustrated neither a simple union nor a simple opposition, but a dialectical relation that corrects and refreshes both."<sup>38</sup> Rodd's analysis of Christianity in western Society in terms of Parsons' pattern variables<sup>39</sup> carries the same implication. He maintains that religion in America has shifted from particularism to universalism, from ascription to achievement, from diffuseness to specificity and from affectivity to affective-neutrality.<sup>40</sup> Glock agrees that the process is a dialectical one, but maintains that the capacity of religion to inform the normative structure of a society is largely a thing of the past.<sup>41</sup> Further, he says:

"In a complex society, and particularly in a democratic one, contributions to the normative structure come from many sources -- the body politic, the economic order, the mass media, labor unions, and private citizens as well as the church. These sources at once inform the norms and values of our society and are informed by them. The process is a dialectical one but it is not necessarily a matter of even exchange."<sup>42</sup>

Conventional religion in America, according to the same source, is more on the receiving end than the contributing end so far as contemporary values are concerned.<sup>43</sup> Rodd's discussion of Christianity in modern society concludes that in such an



industrialized, bureaucratized and urbanized society Christian values are not viable because the structure of the society requires other values to support it.<sup>44</sup>

Conventional religion then, is more influenced by secular forces than it influences them. The process of urbanization has been singled out as a prime cause of this influence by such writers as Cox and Rodd. Acquaviva has been quick to point out that to attribute the decline of religion to the coming of the city is an oversimplification,<sup>45</sup> but clearly industrialization and bureaucratization go hand in hand with urbanization.

For Cox there are two dimensions to the city which contribute to the secularization of norms, values and beliefs: shape and style. By shape he refers to the now common themes of anonymity and mobility; by style he refers to what he calls pragmatism and profanity. Pragmatism refers to man's concern with the question "Will it work?" -- there is no mystery involved. Profanity refers to man's "...wholly terrestrial horizon, the disappearance of any supramundane reality defining his life."<sup>46</sup>

If man in his new social context has become pragmatic and profane, it would seem logical that conventional religion would be irrelevant and without function -- a survival. This raises the question of whether it will persist in the modern world -- in O'Dea's words it would seem to be destined to become a spiritual ghetto unless it is modified to the point of becoming a "cultural religion,"<sup>47</sup> (or operative religion as defined above). However, conventional religious institutions appear to be gaining strength -- not losing it.<sup>48</sup> What then is its function? Peter Berger states simply that





"The social irrelevance of the religious establishment is its functionality". That is, "(If) organized religion in this society were highly relevant to the major social institutions, it would not be functional in the way it now is. It is functional precisely to the degree in which it is passive rather than active... It is in the same capacity that it meets many important psychological needs of the individual."<sup>49</sup> A refinement of this idea is offered by O'Dea who points out that religion displays two kinds of irrelevance: either it is deeply meaningful to its followers but without relationship to man's larger history, or it is historically relevant but without personal significance for the individual.<sup>50</sup> Herberg again sums the idea up concisely:

"Indeed, it may be said, with some exaggeration, that conventional religion today serves its function better the more vacuous and empty of content it is, for religious content, if taken seriously, may well interfere with the social function of religion as a way of American identification."<sup>51</sup>

O'Dea concludes that for religion to be relevant today it must support those human aspirations that cry for fulfillment in terms of present technological capacity.<sup>52</sup>

Technological capacity, of course, is dependent upon advances in scientific knowledge. But the influence of science goes far beyond simply increasing man's technology -- it has profound effects on the style and content of his thought and behavior. From the late seventeenth century on religious modes of thought have been forced to concede that matters of fact within the space-time continuum are the province of science and not revelation. Objective





information about the age, structure or workings of the observable universe is not embodied in religious doxies. A complete re-interpretation of religious "truth" has become necessary -- and such truth has been subsequently regarded as symbolic in character.<sup>53</sup> O'Dea points out that in times of religious crisis existence is experienced in terms of manifold contradictions because individuals can neither develop an organized world view nor achieve meaningful participation in their society. We have now, however, a new setting for this perennial crisis -- "a dynamic and secularized society embodying a scientific world view".<sup>54</sup> A major contributing factor has been the democratization of higher education. Whenever there is an attempt to integrate the truth of religion with that of science, the inevitable result is the secularization of the sacred rather than the assimilation of science by religion.<sup>55</sup> Simply stated, "Science, being empirically grounded cannot give way to religion and still be science; but religion can give way and still be religion".<sup>56</sup>

Science has given rise to the age of technology, and in the course of so doing has accustomed man to ways of thought that are essentially empirical.<sup>57</sup> Technology permits greater control of one's environment, and thus leads to a decrease in the power of myth -- and a corresponding increase in the extent of rational thought.<sup>58</sup> Acquaviva quotes Yinger on this idea as follows:

"...Even if it is difficult to detect the functional connection between religion and technology, either for each individual case or for the whole field in general, it is evident in all the history of religion and technology."<sup>59</sup>



That is to say, the more primitive or simple the technology, the greater is the use of religious behavior to bolster man's efforts. This technological rationality has created a new image of man by forcing a reinterpretation of old images.<sup>60</sup>

The new image of man and things human that has developed is essentially earthbound and cognizant of the historical and ontological relativity of all human accomplishments -- whether in thought or in life.<sup>61</sup> "...All modern theology, in order to be historically relevant, has found itself forced back into secular culture to discover appropriate categories and attitudes with which meaningfully to address its own time."<sup>62</sup>

One set of categories and attitudes focuses on fulfillment of earthly life instead of the conventional religious concern for life after death.<sup>63</sup> This line of concern has been due in large part to the technological advances in the areas of transportation and communication -- the mass media, tourism, sports and other profane interests which weaken traditional religion by fostering a materialistic hedonism.<sup>64</sup> For participants in such a cultural milieu, the world cannot legitimately be seen as a "fallen" place from which all seek an escape which only the select might expect. Such a culture is itself seen as a product of a promised land, so that even salvation is understood in secular terms.<sup>65</sup>

A second set of categories and attitudes focuses on a pragmatic social concern. The shift here has been from concern for personal holiness to love of one's neighbor.<sup>66</sup> A philosophical basis for this concern is to be found in the works of Kant, Marx, and later proponents of the "social gospel" -- in all cases a concern for the welfare of man on earth.



"The history of Western society is the history of the gradual spread of wholly secular institutions."<sup>67</sup> We noted at the beginning of this section that secularization was a general process, and we have traced the sources and consequences of this process with specific reference to the value-systems by which men live. It is evident that not since Medieval Europe has conventional religion been coincident with the operative faith of Western civilization -- that is, not since that time has religion exhibited the capacity to organize society and provide a relevant world view for adherents. Conventional religious values and norms are at best irrelevant to the demands of contemporary civilization, and at worst contradictory to these demands. Religion has repeatedly been forced to turn to the secular world to obtain categories applicable to the present -- to gain relevance. Some Christian apologetics such as Rodd<sup>68</sup> see this as a great danger to the essence of their faith and warn against allowing this to become a total assimilation of conventional religion into a larger secular system of values and norms. It would appear, however, that such has in effect already happened:

"...(The) subsidiary form of social organization -- for instance the religious denomination -- is functionally related to the more inclusive form, namely urban society."<sup>69</sup>

#### D. Organization of the Remainder of the Thesis

Chapter II will discuss at length the socio-religious conditions that prevailed in Alberta during the 1930's. Chapter III will establish specifically the theoretical framework for this study by reviewing relevant research, defining concepts that will be used, and generating the specific hypotheses to be tested.





Chapter IV will outline the methodology of the study and Chapter V will report the findings. Finally, in Chapter VI some conclusions will be drawn and the implications of the study will be made explicit.

Summary: The purpose of this thesis is to study the changing patterns of religious affiliation in Alberta over the past thirty-five years, and to determine the nature of the salient weltanschauung of Alberta residents at present. In the United States a trend away from fundamentalistic sect-type religion, and the existence of an increasingly pervasive pragmatic and materialistic value system, have been well documented.

Concern in the Sociology of Religion has shifted during the past half-century from the study of the origins of religious behavior to the inter-relationship of religion with other social institutions, and the role religion plays in the integration of society. Every society, if it is to continue to exist, must have considerable consensus with respect to a common set of values and norms that will provide a basis for unity. In a complex society religion tends to become a highly specialized institution -- one of several sources of such a system of beliefs and practices. In contemporary society our thoughtways are primarily moulded by science and technology, forcing religion (if it is to remain viable) to look to the secular world for relevant concepts. It appears that religion has become more the object than the source of influence. Because religion is no longer the primary source of values and norms, it becomes functional by becoming either irrelevant or merely a secondary source of identification in the larger cultural context.





FOOTNOTES

1. YINGER, J. Milton, Religion in the Struggle for Power, New York: Russell and Russell, 1961, p. 5
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6. WACH, op. cit., p. 131
7. PARSONS, Talcott, Religious Perspectives of College Teaching in Sociology and Social Psychology, New Haven: Hazen Foundation, 1951, pp. 9-10
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13. Ibid. p. 519
14. WILLIAMS, Robin M. Jr., American Society: A Sociological Interpretation, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, p. 312
15. GLOCK, Charles Y., "Religion and the Integration of Society", Review of Religious Research, 2, 1960, p. 49



16. HERBERG, Will, "Religion in a Secularized Society: The New Shape of Religion in America - Lecture I." Review of Religious Research, 3, 1962, pp. 145-146
17. LENSKI, op. cit., p. 320
18. HERBERG, Will, Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology, Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1955 (Revised Anchor Books, 1960)
19. COX, Harvey, The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective, New York: Macmillan Co., 1965 (Revised 1966)
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21. Comte's Law of the Three Stages was concerned specifically with types of knowledge or styles of reflection. He said that each field of knowledge passes through three distinct growth periods: theological, metaphysical and positivistic. For a simple, comprehensive discussion see TIMASHEFF, Nicholas S., Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth, (Revised Edition) New York: Random House, 1957, pp. 15-29.
22. Sorokin was concerned with "superorganic, mentalistic wholes" (Martindale's phrase). His was a reaction against the absolutistic thinking of Comte who saw scientific knowledge as the epitome of human progress. Sorokin's work made truth and other social forms, to be relative phenomena. The three distinct cultural forms were ideational (revealed by the grace of God), idealistic (a synthesis of sensory and supersensory forms) and sensate (dependent entirely on sense organs). For a complete discussion see SOROKIN, Pitrim A., The Crisis of Our Age, New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1941. For a brief discussion see MARTINDALE, Don, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory, Cambridge (Mass.): The Riverside Press of Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960, pp. 15-19
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24. Ibid. pp. 1-2
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52. O'DEA, op. cit., p. 134
53. GILKEY, op. cit., p. 70
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58. O'DEA, op. cit., p. 124
59. ACQUAVIVA, op. cit., pp. 213-214
60. ROSCONI, op. cit., p. 241
61. O'DEA, op. cit., p. 123
62. GILKEY, op. cit., p. 72
63. Ibid., p. 73
64. ACQUAVIVA, op. cit., p. 212
65. GILKEY, op. cit., pp. 80-81
66. Ibid., p. 73
67. GLOCK, op. cit., p. 59
68. RODD, op. cit., p. 182
69. PFAUTZ, op. cit., p. 128





## CHAPTER II

### SOCIO-RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN ALBERTA

In order to fully appreciate the significance of the changes that have taken place in Alberta over the past thirty-five years, it is essential to understand the social and economic problems that faced Albertans in the 1930's, and the attempted solutions that were adopted. The effects of the depression were not, in any sense, unique to Albertans, but several related factors were. This chapter will outline some of the conditions that were peculiar to Alberta, as well as some of the unique responses made by Albertans to more common problems. To a very large extent, as will become evident, these responses were at least covertly, if not overtly, religious in nature. Further, because of the importance of religious movements as a means of adjustment to the existent conditions, the religious changes that followed this period become a particularly interesting study in light of the changes that occurred in the socio-economic conditions.

Different writers have noted different indices of Alberta's unusual history. Macpherson states that at least in one respect (political) Alberta has been continuously out of the ordinary,<sup>1</sup> and Mann characterizes Alberta as having "...an exceptional history of religious non-conformity".<sup>2</sup> The political



situation of which Macpherson speaks was the conspicuous absence of the alternate-party system which is considered basic to parliamentary practice in Britain and Canada. Mann's description of religious non-conformity is based on the fact that Alberta has been the home "...not only of all the customary evangelical bodies together with numerous older sects from Europe, such as the Mennonites, Hutterites, and Doukhobors, but also many other lesser known sects and cults".<sup>3</sup> The extent of these religious organizations was such that in 1946 there were almost fifty different religious bodies in addition to the full range of traditional Christian churches. Sect membership comprised over twenty per cent of the Protestant population.<sup>4</sup>

In discussing the sources of this unusual social development, Mann comments as follows:

"The flat, treeless terrain of the southern part of the province early resulted in over-rapid settlement and subsequently in depopulation and community instability."<sup>5</sup>

In 1946 Burnet carried out a study in the drought-afflicted, wheat-growing area of the province around the town of Hanna.<sup>6</sup> This particular area was chosen because, of all areas of the province, it best exemplified the problems of rural organization that facilitated the rise of the Social Credit movement. Clark, in his forward to her book characterizes the area as "a community lacking a solid foundation on which to erect a stable social organization".<sup>7</sup> In fact, Burnet claims that nowhere in the world has so vast an area been opened for settlement in so short a time span.<sup>8</sup> In the words of Stephen Leacock: "Thus grew Alberta, or rather thus was it raised like a circus tent in the shouting years before the war".<sup>9</sup>



A major consequence of this rapid development was the establishment of a quasi-colonial status for Western Canada, to use Macpherson's phrase,<sup>10</sup> which contributed to the failure of the alternate party system to be considered as a meaningful form of government. More specifically, for Alberta:

"...(T)wo characteristics, not found together in any of the other provinces, combined to discourage the introduction and development of a party system. One was their relatively homogeneous class composition, the other was their quasi-colonial status. The former seemed to make a party system unnecessary, the latter led to a positive aversion to party."<sup>11</sup>

Alberta residents found themselves living in a social structure on the verge of collapse with the advent of the thirties and the depression.<sup>12</sup> Not only did Albertans lack well-defined political, religious and economic traditions, they were living in a situation which placed considerable strain on the basic social unit of the family. Due to the economic situation many social and economic tasks were thrust upon the family but the ability to perform them was impaired.<sup>13</sup> While a marginal economy dictated that a family be kept small, isolation required, for social stability, that the family be large. An additional disrupting influence came from the existence of a high sex ratio -- in 1941 in the Hanna area it was 134.<sup>14</sup> Burnet claims that unstable household units are indices of social disorganization in a broader context -- and in Hanna sexual irregularities such as incest and adultery were evident as were incidences of children running away from home, marital separation and divorce.<sup>15</sup>





"It is obvious, however, that in the dry belt there are also forces weakening the household. These include the low standards of living, the lack of primary group contacts, and the uncertainty of obtaining a livelihood or of keeping the land which carries with it what hope there is of obtaining a livelihood. Compensations for the deprivations suffered in the household group would be required in other areas of social organization if the community were to be stable."<sup>16</sup>

The isolation experienced by pioneer families was a major contributing factor to the instability of, or lack of community organization. The isolation felt by early Alberta families was doubly profound because not only was there limited contact among people in the area, due to poorly developed systems of transportation and communication, but also what has been referred to as the quasi-colonial status of the west contributed to a sense of alienation from the rest of Canada and the world. Of the Western Canadian of that time Burnet says: "When he looks beyond the local community he does so in the manner of a member of a minority group".<sup>17</sup> The limited contact individuals had with the outside world made them even less content with their local community.<sup>18</sup> Another factor contributing to the isolation of the individual family was the increasing mechanization of agriculture that came as a result of the shift in emphasis from a cattle to a wheat based economy -- the latter being a much more individualistic enterprise.<sup>19</sup>

Macpherson maintains that even though the economy of Alberta is more diversified than any other prairie province, it has always been primarily agricultural -- and certainly was heavily agricultural prior to and during the advent of Social Credit.<sup>20</sup>





However, the discoveries of oil and natural gas in the south, followed by the uncovering of coal deposits, contributed significantly to the establishment of a "boom-recession pattern which has been characteristic of Alberta's economic life from the beginning".<sup>21</sup> This pattern was clearly most evident during the depression of the 1930's at which time it led to recurring periods of re-settlement and social mobility.<sup>22</sup> During this period as much as 90 to 100 per cent of some districts were on government relief.<sup>23</sup>

The population of Alberta during the rise of the Social Credit movement was approximately sixty per cent rural, and clearly the strength of both Social Credit and religious fundamentalism was rural-based.<sup>24</sup> A large proportion of the population was also composed of immigrants -- a factor which contributed to the rapid social and economic changes.

"Immigration, coming in waves before and after the First World War, brought the population up from 374,295 in 1911 to close to 900,000 by 1947."<sup>25</sup>

The cultures brought by immigrants were in many cases in conflict with the social and economic demands of the new area. The idea of conflicting demands being made on the family has already been mentioned. This dilemma was intensified where imported cultural values included the ideas of large, closely-knit families -- requiring an abundance of land for expansion -- and an emphasis on intragroup interaction -- an impossibility in an exchange economy.<sup>26</sup> As immigration waned, ethnic bases of community have also waned -- third generation Albertans tend to speak only English.<sup>27</sup> However, during the period of most rapid expansion



"...shifts in religious conviction followed lines of least ethnic, religious and social resistance: new Canadians attached themselves to sects composed of their own ethnic group and to English-speaking groups such as the Alliance which enthusiastically welcomed non-Anglo-Saxons."<sup>28</sup>

Rapid immigration also affected the basis of organization within urban centers -- urban sects increased in number during the peak of immigration, and decreased again with improving social conditions. Urban expansion had created large working classes which were effectively cut off from the religious denominations geographically as well as socially. The response of fundamentalistic religion was more appropriate due to its individualistic and undirected nature -- in fact a large portion of urban sects were initiated by free-lance preachers, neither associated with each other nor with larger movements.<sup>29</sup> Urban sects as a general rule served primarily to assist the adjustment of rural migrants.<sup>30</sup> But while the cities of Edmonton and Calgary were growing rapidly, many smaller centers were on the decline -- Edmonton and Calgary became cities of 60,000 between 1912 and 1916<sup>31</sup> while in the 1920's many small centers declined rapidly eventually to become ghost towns in the 1930's.<sup>32</sup> The effect of the decline of the rural villages was to further the disorganization of the surrounding rural communities.<sup>33</sup>

The effect of the prevailing situation on traditional denominations is described as follows:



"The conservatism of the established religious denominations in the face of widespread economic or social dislocations resulting from the nature of the provinces' development emphasized the advantages of the newer movements of religion with their more flexible organization and techniques."<sup>34</sup>

In his foreward to Mann's book, S. D. Clark points out that all evidence in the 1920's indicated a marked falling off in support of traditional churches in rural communities. All efforts of early religious men seemed to fail -- in 1925 in many communities "scarcely a single person went to church".<sup>35</sup> Through the 1930's this trend continued to near completion. In the Hanna district, for example, there had been seven ordained ministers in the denominations which were to become the United Church of Canada, but at the time of Burnet's field work (1946) there was just one ordained United Church minister in the district in addition to one in Hanna and one student.<sup>36</sup> More striking examples are mentioned by Mann who reports that after 1930 the United Church followed a policy of withdrawing from small rural villages and combining adjacent parishes. Between 1930 and 1945 the number of active parishes decreased from 933 to 707. Before World War I the Anglican church had over 12 itinerant priests; by 1922 it had one; and 1930 none. The Union Baptists closed over 80 prairie churches between 1914 and 1944, and in 1925 the Presbyterian church abandoned all itinerate work.<sup>37</sup> Traditional religions had been unable to become firmly established in a milieu which included an unusually high sex ratio, seasonally heavy work, and a developing materialistic value system.<sup>38</sup> They were unable to adjust quickly





enough to the rapidly changing, and unstructured social organization because of the rigidity that comes with ecclesiastical centralization. The traditional denominations further alienated the rural population by insisting, largely due to the influence of eastern seminary leaders, on university education for clergymen. Few in Alberta could even consider obtaining the degree in arts which was held to be a prerequisite for the theological training at the time of the establishment of the United Church.<sup>39</sup> This resulted in the additional complications in that most of their clergy had been reared outside of Alberta, and had undergone training that was incompatible with a rural life style. Many in fact viewed rural parishes simply as stepping stones to a desired urban posting. A majority of eastern trained clergy were Anglo-Saxons who could neither understand nor identify with an ethnically mixed parish.<sup>40</sup>

Clark points out that the falling off of support of traditional religions and the corresponding swing to politically-oriented farmers' movements was not as much of a secular shift as has often been supposed.<sup>41</sup> There is little doubt that the expanding farmers' movements -- the United Farmers of Alberta and later Social Credit -- were in competition with the existing churches. That the farmers' movements gained membership at the expense of the churches indicates two things -- the weakening appeal of the churches and the strength of the F.U.A.<sup>42</sup> But the F.U.A. was unable to provide solutions to all the problems experienced by the rural population -- a more complete world view was required, setting the stage for the rise of Social Credit. Irving describes this phenomenon as a social movement.





"Social movements tend to appear during periods of widespread social unrest, when profound dissatisfaction with the existing social order arises. No conditions could have been more favorable for the development of such unrest than those which existed in Alberta in the autumn of 1932. The farmers of the province had experienced every possible agricultural ordeal; they had been made the playthings of the high tariff manipulators; they had built up markets in the United States only to have them ruthlessly cut off; they had suffered drought and every agricultural pestilence from root-rot to grasshoppers; they had seen prices drop to such incredibly low levels that sometimes it did not pay to haul their produce to market."<sup>43</sup>

The appeal of Social Credit was not, of course, universal. Members of the well-established, "top-classes" still belonged to the "old parties" (liberals and conservatives) and to the traditional denominations.<sup>44</sup> This segment of the population -- relatively small -- did not suffer to as great an extent from the social and economic upheaval that was taking place. Social Credit played upon the disillusionment that came with economic depression and rapid social change.<sup>45</sup> "Drought and depression, coupled with technological change... made the communities crumble."<sup>46</sup>

"No one exploited more successfully than Mr. William Aberhart those social conditions in Alberta which favored an appeal to religious values. Social Credit was not, of course, a purely religious movement, but its phenomenal growth during the early years of the 1930's certainly cannot be understood except in terms of the general strengthening of religious forces in the Alberta community."<sup>47</sup>

Although Social Credit was presented as a political theory, in actuality it went far beyond this. It offered a way of



life, based on theological and/or philosophical assumptions such as human nature is essentially good, and the individual, as the most important fact of society is an end in himself and not a means to an end. The most precious possession in life is personal freedom, and thus it is the inalienable right of each individual to be economically secure and politically free. The way of life offered by Social Credit was compatible with both Christianity and democracy, and at the same time it was extremely critical of the existing form of political democracy.<sup>48</sup> It had the dual advantage, then, of criticizing a political system which had come to be associated with a hard and restricting existence, and of drawing upon an existing, powerful religious movement.

"In its inception, the Social Credit movement may be best understood as an extension of an already well-established fundamentalist and prophetic movement."<sup>49</sup>

The Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute was the unique headquarters of the movement. Irving maintains that it is doubtful that Social Credit could have been successful without William Aberhart, and that it is equally doubtful that Aberhart could have provided effective leadership without the backing of the Institute.<sup>50</sup> Mann explains Aberhart's strength as stemming from the basic parallels between his evangelical following and the Social Credit Movement. Both appealed to the layman as opposed to the professional, both were essentially non-conformist, both were hostile to the formal respectability of the middle classes, both appealed most strongly to those in direst economic straits, both were essentially aimed at the rural population, and both were unpremeditated and reactionary.<sup>51</sup>



"The fact that Social Credit could be presented not only as a monetary device but as an economic theory and a social philosophy made it doubly attractive; not only did it promise economic relief, it also could provide an explanation of the apparently senseless catastrophic world in which more and more Albertans found themselves groping for understanding and hope.

Social Credit's remarkable similarities with evangelical religious doctrine, which so many Albertans found the most satisfying, recommended it still further. Combining in itself a root-and-branch denunciation of the world as it was with a magical promise of a new secular life for all who were suffering, Social Credit had a peculiar affinity to the fundamentalist and prophetic religious gospel of which Aberhart was a vigorous preacher." 52

Aberhart took full advantage of the medium of radio, first to get across his fundamentalist religion and later his social credit politics. Mann claims that fundamentalism generally owed a great deal of its advance to those evangelists who early recognized the power of radio broadcasting -- the most successful of whom was Aberhart.<sup>53</sup>

"The secret of Aberhart's widespread popularity as a radio orator lay not only in unquestioned rhetorical gifts, but in a special flair for making religious instruction simple and entertaining." 54

S. D. Clark, in the foreward to Irving's book comments that the social scientist might well be grateful to Aberhart for having exhibited a near ideal type of the charismatic leader -- his conduct, his manner of speech, and his very appearance were all such that he elicited a deep and personal commitment from a majority of the people of Alberta.<sup>55</sup>





Social Credit thus began with a strong basis of support transferred from the religious followers of Aberhart. In the beginning the extent and depth of its social criticism gave Social Credit its strength by appealing to farmers of Alberta to whom society appeared disorganized.<sup>56</sup> The strength provided by this cutting denunciation, and the epochal vision of a new society, retained the appeal even after the monetary theory had been shown to be completely fallacious.<sup>57</sup> It also gained considerable support by supplanting the U.F.A. and U.F.W.A. study groups -- which as mentioned earlier had siphoned support away from traditional religious groups. Much of Social Credit philosophy was consistent with that of the U.F.A., making the transfer a relatively simple one. As knowledge of Aberhart and Social Credit grew, more and more people began listening to his religious broadcasts -- "a few would listen for the religious message that was given, but the majority listened for the political aspect or just curiosity".<sup>58</sup> Thus the audiences for both the political and the fundamental preachings of Aberhart expanded rapidly.

Individuals came to perceive that they could meaningfully participate in life -- there was a dynamic purpose, and the person of Aberhart became the living symbol of that purpose.<sup>59</sup> Immediate and continuous involvement was possible in the numerous fundamental religious bodies, and also in the rapidly expanding Bible Schools. The sects provided involvement in a close knit community which in the loosely integrated frontier society met the pressing human need for fellowship. The weekly meetings provided for spontaneous expression of emotions, and placed problems and anxieties





at "the Mercy Seat of God, in the presence of the brethren".<sup>60</sup> The small size of the typical sect meant that the preacher could minister personally to the psychological and spiritual needs of each member -- the widespread use of the terms "brother" and "sister" were indicative of the primary atmosphere that prevailed. A further advantage was that the limited size plus the elaborate weekly programmes ensured that most members occupied a status-giving position which required no formal training or special talent -- religious zeal was sufficient.<sup>61</sup>

Sect leaders, unlike the clergy of the traditional churches were well prepared for the rural life-style, and many were non-Anglo-Saxon in origin.<sup>62</sup> Most sect leaders were trained in Alberta in the Bible Schools. The appeal of these schools was two-fold. They offered a means of social and geographical mobility to the somewhat isolated rural population.<sup>63</sup> As they grew, the possibilities of foreign missionary work also grew. But perhaps a more important factor was their appropriateness to the prevalent social milieu:

"Much of the success of the Bible Schools resulted from their close integration into the prairie social structure. This was clearly evident in such objective factors as their location and architectural design. Over 50% of the schools were situated in small cities and towns and were a natural part of the rural hinterland."<sup>64</sup>

The success of the many Bible Schools was quite astounding. They grew steadily from 1922 to 1947 -- from 1940 to 1947 the total number of students enrolled increased from 800 to 2100.<sup>65</sup> However, Burnet reports that at the time of her research the fundamentalist influence was beginning to wane. The radio church



services as well as the rural-based sects were falling off, due in part to the fact that some of the sects moved into towns as they gained strength and thereby lost rural support. Even in the towns and villages they lost support as the number of jobless young men decreased.<sup>66</sup>

While the U.F.A. had capitalized on discontent following World War I, Social Credit did so on the disorganization and disillusionment that came with the depression. The U.F.A. had promised to relieve Alberta farmers by means of co-operation and free trade; Social Credit introduced a new monetary scheme to an audience that was largely committed to the person of Aberhart. "The contest of the 1930's between the Social Credit Government and the bankers was only one of the long series between east and west, city and country, banker and farmer."<sup>67</sup>

The social, economic, political and religious atmosphere that prevailed in Alberta then was one which was ripe for the development of fundamentalistic religion. The economy was unstable, the social composition was diverse in terms of ethnicity, the formal political structure was inappropriate and bred alienation rather than involvement, and the formal religious structures were also unsuited to the population. Into this milieu came a highly charismatic person, Aberhart, who symbolized meaningful involvement in a total sense -- he provided answers to economic, political and religious problems simultaneously. His appeal was initially in the sphere of religion, where he gained followers directly through personal appearances and a well organized radio campaign, and indirectly through the efforts of other aspiring fundamentalist



leaders who followed his example. The rise of Aberhart provided the stimulus for the rise of sects throughout the province. Those who were initially won by his religious appeal soon swung to his political support, and vice-versa. Alberta was characterized during this period by pronounced political and religious non-conformity, and the staying power of each was undoubtedly enhanced by the other.

This is an accurate picture of the past, but is it yet valid in the present? The questions this thesis seeks to answer are "Has this pervasive influence been broken over the past thirty-five years?", and, if so, "What is the nature of the current weltanschauung of Alberta residents?" In the next chapter we shall examine what predictions may be made concerning the changes to be expected, on the basis of relevant theoretical and empirical literature.



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## CHAPTER III

### THEORY

#### A. Introduction

A great deal of work has been done in the area of religious organizations and their relationship to the larger social contexts within which they occur. Most of this work has built upon the very solid foundation laid by Max Weber<sup>1</sup> and Ernst Troeltsch<sup>2</sup>, and later H. Richard Niebuhr<sup>3</sup>. The works of these men have not gone uncriticized, but there is little doubt that they are basic to all that has been done since their time.

For Troeltsch and Weber a sect was a body of believers wherein membership was based upon contracted or freely elected membership, as opposed to an ecclesiastical body, membership in which was ascribed.<sup>4</sup> A more comprehensive description of these terms will come later in this chapter. The most pointed criticism of the typology developed by Troeltsch is that it is based on pre-1800 Europe which was characterized by a legally established and protected religious monopoly.<sup>5</sup> It is a static typology which fails to view the sect and the church on a continuum, but rather sees them as exclusively different types.<sup>6</sup> The legitimate church was understood by Troeltsch as being universalistic and ascriptive, open to any and all on the basis of minimal requirements. The sect, by comparison, was





particularistic and achievement-oriented, a select group of the self-perceived elect.<sup>7</sup> Johnson points out that Weber's work has certain advantages over that of Troeltsch. The former held that the religions of the world have been molded to a great extent by prophets or charismatic leaders. Two distinct types of prophets occur -- those..."who promulgate the idea of a personal supra-mundane god who makes specific demands on men", or emissary prophets, and those..."who promulgate the idea of an impersonal cosmic law which can be appropriated by men", or exemplary prophets.<sup>8</sup> But this still implies a clear cut dichotomy. O'Dea comments on this problem as follows:

"The dichotomy of church and sect and their derivatives -- independent group and denomination -- do not exhaust the possibilities which are offered by empirical research in the sociology of religion."<sup>9</sup>

The concepts church and sect are clearly ideal types which, according to Martindale, consist of several elements abstracted from reality which seem to cohere together. The essence of the ideal type of church - sect, or any other ideal type, is multidimensionality. However, he also points out that the dimensions of an ideal type lean heavily on intuition -- a weakness that must be recognized.<sup>10</sup>

It is important to note, with Scanzoni, that

"In spite of these problems, most critics agree that the phenomena which both Troeltsch and Weber originally described by the terms 'church' and 'sect' actually do exist in the real world."<sup>11</sup>



The problem thus becomes one of developing an adequate classificatory scheme -- one that takes into account the principal dimensions that distinguish the various forms of religious organizations. Troeltsch saw the source of distinction between churches and sects in the gospel, but Niebuhr went much further and pointed to the relevant socio-economic variables. In a rather impassioned statement on the divisions within Christianity he makes his concern explicit:

"Denominationalism in the Christian church is...an acknowledged hypocrisy. It is a compromise made far too lightly, between Christianity and the world. Yet it often regards itself as a Christian achievement and glorifies its martyrs as bearers of the cross. It represents the accommodation of Christianity to the caste system of human society. It carries over into the organization of the Christian principle of brotherhood, the prides and prejudices, the privilege and prestige, as well as the humiliation and abasements, the injustices and inequalities of the specious order of high and low wherein men find the satisfaction of their craving for vainglory. The division of the churches closely follows the division of men into the castes of national, racial, and economic groups."<sup>12</sup>

Niebuhr in fact chose to call what Troeltsch named sects, the churches of the disinherited.<sup>13</sup> Lenski comments on the fact that the relationship between socio-economic status and form of religious organization has been amply documented.<sup>14</sup> In his study of rural California churches, Goldschmidt discovered that "class denominationalism is not a cause but a result. The economic classes of the California rural scene permeate every phase of life, and the causes lie deep in the industrial character of the farm economy."<sup>15</sup>



Of religion in general, Peter Berger says that it has always "played a strategic part in the human enterprise of world-building"<sup>16</sup>; that "...religion is the audacious attempt to conceive of the entire universe as being humanly significant."<sup>17</sup> In the words of Troeltsch, this world-building takes the form of a dialectical process:

"The history of the Christian Ethos becomes the story of a constantly renewed search for...compromise and of...fresh opposition to this spirit of compromise."<sup>18</sup>

Although, as mentioned earlier, Troeltsch saw the basis for different forms of religious organization in the Gospel, the above quotation at least hints at the possibility of socio-economic factors being of some significance.

To develop an adequate classificatory scheme, then, it would appear that primary emphasis must be placed on "non-religious" factors, with secondary attention being given to the theological dimension. Wach reduces this idea to the level of the attitudes of adherents:

"...(C)haracteristic attitudes rather than specific theological and philosophical doctrines determine the sociological type of the sect or, in instances, of the independent group."<sup>19</sup>

Virtually all studies on religious sects and their development include a list of characteristics that the author feels are relevant to his study. Few, however, provide the guidelines used for the selection. Benton Johnson<sup>20</sup> identifies four steps that can be used to ensure that distinctions can be validly and reliably operationalized. The first necessary step is to clearly specify the





group with which you are concerned, and the corresponding environment to which it is to be related. This carries the implication that classification will depend less on qualities intrinsic to the group than on the relationship of the group to its environment. The second is to specify the dimension to be considered as that which runs from complete rejection of the environment by the group, to complete acceptance. The cutting points that correspond to the boundaries of the various categories of religious movements are to some extent arbitrary. The third step is to engage in a comparative analysis of various groups within an environment to determine where they fall along the established continuum. Finally, it is necessary to redefine the concepts used (e.g. church and sect) in terms of a single variable of broad applicability which makes no assumptions about the manner in which other characteristics are related to the defining variable.

Although he does not make it explicit, it appears that Yinger makes use of these guidelines in establishing his six-fold classification of religious institutions. His classification, based on "typical relationships between religion and society" involves two criteria: "the degree of inclusiveness of the members of society", and "the degree of attention to the function of personal need, measured presumably against the particular group's interest in the institutions and policies of secular society". His six types of religious organization are as follows: (1) the universal church; (2) the ecclesia; (3) the class denomination; (4) the established sect; (5) the sect; and (6) the cult.<sup>21</sup> This classification is closely paralleled by Pfautz who, at the sect end of the continuum,





differentiates the cult, the sect, and the institutionalized sect, while at the other end he describes only two categories - the church and the denomination. Pfautz has reversed the order of these last two terms which goes against most other writers in the field.<sup>22</sup>

Sociological research in general faces the great danger of becoming so involved with method that it loses sight of the substantive content being studied. We might conclude, with Scanzoni, that:

"As useful as empirical classification schemes are in social research, they are not ends in themselves. Instead they are preliminary stages in the development of testable propositions and systematic theory."<sup>23</sup>

## B. Sects

### 1. Definitional Characteristics

Although Ford maintains that sectarianism is no more than a useful connotative concept for which there is no general agreement on a precise definition,<sup>24</sup> it appears that there is in fact considerable consensus among researchers in the field. Ford himself identifies three factors common to all descriptions of sects: (1) an emphasis on evangelism and conversion as opposed to education; (2) an unspecified part-time ministry; and (3) an emphasis on other-worldliness.<sup>25</sup> O'Dea,<sup>26</sup> and Poblete and O'Dea<sup>27</sup> provide some additional characteristics, drawn from the works of Troeltsch, Weber, Park and Burgess, Simmel and von Wiese, and Becker. The factors mentioned in these works include (1) separation or isolation from



the surrounding social milieu; (2) exclusiveness of membership; (3) voluntary election or joining; (4) rejection of religious hierarchy; and (5) a sense of persecution. Dynes<sup>28</sup> summarizes those characteristics specified by Pope<sup>29</sup> which, in addition to the above, include (1) a literal interpretation of the Bible; (2) establishment of a moral community with correspondingly rigid behavioral requirements; and (3) more or less fervent congregational participation. Johnson<sup>30</sup> outlines a set of characteristics similar to those given above. Wilson<sup>31</sup> adds the characteristics of (1) a self-concept of an "elect"; and (2) an emphasis on personal perfection or holiness.

The combination of all the factors identified above yields a very broad concept. Because there is virtually no conflict among the various writers, but rather minor additions or omissions, it is apparent that the concept of sect is a useful one. However, Wilson astutely points out that considerable precision can be gained by distinguishing certain sub-types of sects. He offers the following four-fold classification, based upon the type of mission undertaken by the various identified groups.<sup>32</sup>

- (1) the conversionist sect - emphasis on evangelism and the need to obtain redemption through Christ for individual guilt and sin;
- (2) the Adventist sect - emphasis on the coming overturn of the present world order;
- (3) the Introversionist sect - emphasis on individual holiness apart from the world; and
- (4) the Gnostic sect - emphasis on some special body of teaching of an esoteric kind.



Clearly Wilson's classification is, at least overtly, based upon internal or theological criteria. In his discussion however, it becomes apparent that the sub-types he defines differ with reference to the dimension outlined in the introduction to this chapter - the acceptance or rejection of the social milieu. The conversionist sect is "distrustful of, or indifferent towards, denominations and churches", it is hostile to modernism, and is opposed to modern science. The Adventist sect perceives the established church as "fulfilling the role of the anti-Christ", and emphasizes separation from the secular world. The Introversionist sect "directs attention of its followers away from the world and to the community, and more particularly to the members' possession of the Spirit". The Gnostic sect perceives other churches with indifference - as ignorant or backward - and secular knowledge is seen as valid though qualitatively inferior to the particular esoteric philosophy of the sect.<sup>33</sup>

A major difference found in Wilson's classification as opposed to those of writers such as Becker,<sup>34</sup> Mann<sup>35</sup> and Pfautz<sup>36</sup> is that what the last three writers call a "cult" is included in Wilson's concept of the Gnostic sect.

A final refinement that has been made by several writers is to differentiate the "pure" sect from the "institutionalized" or "established" sect. This development is of sufficient significance that it will be treated separately later in this chapter.

## 2. Emergence

In his popular book The Comfortable Pew, Pierre Berton





makes the following statement:

"It has all but been forgotten that Christianity began as a revolutionary religion whose followers embraced an entirely different set of values from those held by other members of society. Those original values are still in conflict with the values of contemporary society; yet religion today has become as conservative a force as the force the original Christians were in conflict with."<sup>37</sup>

It would seem, if there is any validity to the above, that sects are in fact attempting to be true to the original tenets of Christianity. Indeed, this frame of reference is the one which leads many to use the terms "literalist" and "fundamentalist" when describing sect-type religion. Ford defines fundamentalism as follows:

"...a system of beliefs that are frequently but not always closely associated, the core element being Biblicism, or acceptance of the literally-interpreted Scriptures."<sup>38</sup>

Fundamentalism, according to Ford, also carries the implication of a puritan morality,<sup>39</sup> although the ethical aspect is changing more rapidly than the creedal aspect.<sup>40</sup>

A similar definition is to be found in Perry:

"...a reactionary tendency in religion which identifies as fundamental to the Christian faith some particular doctrine or doctrines which were, or were purported to have been, held by Christians of a previous generation."<sup>41</sup>

For Poblete and O'Dea fundamentalism means that the Bible is held to be the only norm of life.<sup>42</sup>



There are, then, important theological factors to be considered in discussing the emergence of sects. However, as stated earlier, deeper understanding requires that one look to the pertinent socio-economic factors.

Structurally, Wilson delimits three methods of sect emergence: (1) spontaneous development around a charismatic leader; (2) schism within a religious organization; and (3) organized revival. The last he maintains, is the most common, and may begin in a non-denominational spirit.<sup>43</sup> Further, he states:

"The specific factors of stimulus of sect emergence are usually found in the stresses and tensions differentially experienced within the total society.

"...Particular groups are rendered marginal by some process of social change; there is a sudden need for a transvaluation of their experiences. Insecurity, differential status anxiety cultural neglect, prompt a need for readjustment which sects may for some provide."<sup>44</sup>

Lenski reinforces this idea, pointing out that although economic deprivation is usually associated with the rise of sectarianism, it is not necessarily the primary cause in and of itself. Instead, social disorganization, a frequent concomitant of deprivation, which results in the separation of individuals and families from traditional forms of community structure may be a more significant causal factor.<sup>45</sup> An excellent example of Lenski's proposition is to be found in Poblete and O'Dea's study of Puerto Ricans in New York. These authors show that sects are a product of an anomic situation -- that is, a breakdown of social structures that provide psychological support, and a loss of consensus with respect to



norms and existential definitions.<sup>46</sup> Holt offers similar hypotheses to explain the rise of Holiness and Pentecostal sects in the southeastern states:

- "1. This religious movement is largely the natural product of the social disorganization and cultural conflict which have attended the over-rapid urbanward migration and concomitant urbanization of an intensely rural...religiously fundamentalist population.
2. The movement is typically a social movement in that it is an attempt on the part of certain groups experiencing acute social maladjustment to recapture their sense of security through religious revival and reform.
3. This present attempt at social readjustment and reintegration tends to be reactionary and reformist in character, and does not promise to help eradicate the maladjustment which brought it forth. Its beliefs and ethics are drawn from a disintegrating rural agricultural tradition."<sup>47</sup>

Holt identifies two phases to urbanization that contribute to social disorganization and cultural conflict: the destruction of old rural values, social controls and ways of living; and the disruption of social ties that results from mobility. He points out that mass migration generally takes place at low socioeconomic levels and that migrants thus enter their new social milieu at the most poorly organized level.<sup>48</sup> Further, he states:

"Why the religious revolt took place outside of, in the form of succession, rather than within the established denominations is best explained by the failure of the established churches to provide the type of religion which





proved satisfying to the migrant newcomers or even to cater to them at all. The established churches became a symbol of the migrant's isolation and of the strange and unfriendly society with which he was confronted."<sup>49</sup>

Perry reports "Five Significant Findings" regarding "Socio-economic factors and American Fundamentalism". He concludes that socio-economic factors have been of significant importance for the rise and development of American fundamentalism, but that it is not a simple determinism. The five factors identified are as follows:

1. the underlying change from a frontier to an urban industrial society;
2. the socio-economic factors influencing educational attainment;
3. the vertical mobility of sects, their leaders and adherents;
4. the "natural social-psychological liaison of economic conservatism and the fundamentalist ethic"; and
5. the socio-economic influence on community structure and the ecological patterns of the metropolis.<sup>50</sup>

Goldschmidt, after Niebuhr, notes that "sectarian development springs up largely among the socially disinherited".<sup>51</sup> But the term "socially disinherited", as we have seen is multi-dimensional. Several authors have isolated indices of this concept. Dynes, for example, reports that "sectness is associated with low socio-economic status", and notes specific (inverse) relationships





between sectness and both education and occupation.<sup>52</sup> Ford notes both of these relationships and also reports a direct relationship with age.<sup>53</sup> Tamney combines the ideas of low socio-economic status and anomie in the concept of power. He states: "The basis of solidarity in modern society is power; likewise the spiritual relationship is primarily a power relationship." Where religion is concerned, power differences override ideological similarity.<sup>54</sup>

### 3. Appeal - Involvement

Peter Berger describes the appeal of fundamental religion as follows:

"The messianic-millennarian complex posits a theodicy by relativizing the suffering or injustice of the present in terms of their being overcome in a glorious future. In other words, the anomic phenomena are legitimated by reference to a future nomization, thus reintegrating them within an overall meaningful order."<sup>55</sup>

The forces contributing to an anomic situation are many in modern society. Today, however, as in the recent past in western civilization, these forces have been felt most strongly among the socially and economically disinherited. An important aspect of anomie, as described by Durkheim, was the disruption of familiar social structures. Such disruption clearly occurs with migration -- from one country to another, or from a rural to an urban setting. This factor combined with the depersonalization that comes with increasing technology and bureaucratization have contributed greatly to the anomie experienced by many today. The



conversion and also because worldly success will bring about accommodation with the environment. In fact, Liston Pope has shown that in many cases a sect does not last out its founding generation.<sup>69</sup>

Wilson, however, maintains that Niebuhr, and subsequently Pope, while they pin-pointed a key tension for sect organization, over-simplified the case. It is not true to say simply that inclusion of the second generation makes a sect into a denomination, but rather, whether a sect becomes a denomination depends on the standards of admission imposed by the sect.<sup>70</sup>

As early as the theologian John Wesley, students of religion were pointing to the dilemma created by sectarian religion for itself:

"Wherever riches have increased, the essence of religion has decreased in the same proportion. Therefore I do not see how it is possible in the nature of things for any revival of religion to continue long. For religion must necessarily produce both industry and frugality, and these cannot but produce riches."<sup>71</sup>

More than simply riches, Park points out that even movements which originate as "inchoate impulses and aspirations" eventually take form and define policies and doctrines, and develop administrative structures to carry out their policies and purposes.<sup>72</sup> They experience what Weber has called the "routinization of charisma". Goldschmidt states as a corollary of the social fact that sects tend to flourish in socially and economically deprived areas that as they grow older they slough off their emotional appeal and ascetic character and develop middle class value systems.<sup>73</sup> Among rural California churches



in the early 1940's this was clearly emphasized:

"...formalization dulled the fine edge of emotional fervor and left a hollow mockery in the eyes of the dispossessed. So they have had to seek another outlet."<sup>74</sup>

For Niebuhr this meant that denominations are simply sects in an advanced stage of development and of adjustment to each other and the secular world.<sup>75</sup> He maintains that the history of the Christian church has been one of compromise.<sup>76</sup>

Whitely documents a specific case of this process in his study of the Disciples of Christ, although in this case the atmosphere of conflict and controversy did not subside until several decades after the beginnings of the movement. The need for organization and consolidation of efforts gradually overcame the initial attitude that the development of an official hierarchy was wrong. Simultaneously there was a toning down of the campaign against worldly objectives -- largely due to the rising socio-economic status of many of the members. This led to a shift in theology to an emphasis on restoring the "New Testament church" or "simple, evangelical Christianity." Finally:

"With the increase in wealth of some members of the group, the appeal of frontier simplicity was lessened and more elaborate church buildings, more dignified worship, better-dressed and more sophisticated worshippers began to appear."<sup>77</sup>

Niebuhr argued that sects evolved into denominations in order to survive. This was, of course, a major change from the works of Troeltsch who denied that the sect was an underdeveloped form of the denomination seeing the distinction as purely theological.





Liston Pope documented Niebuhr's thesis on a local level. "The rational-pragmatic mode of authority is an arrangement that obviously represents a compromise between ideological requirements and organizational necessity."<sup>78</sup> Wilson points out that sects that expand are particularly likely to become denominationalized.<sup>79</sup> Other forces facilitating denominationalization in America are explained as follows:

"The absence of traditions and of stable class differences, the promotion of denominational competition, and the expectation of growth and development resulted in extreme accommodation which helped sects rapidly to evolve into denominations-almost as part of 'a success pattern'."<sup>80</sup>

Scanzoni identifies similar patterns of change in American sectarian religion.

"Since the end of World War II, many sect groups in America have undergone numerous changes which in certain peripheral realms have made them almost indistinguishable from church groups. This is particularly the case in terms of the outward appearance of affluence and prosperity."<sup>81</sup>

The "Dilemma of the Sect" then is two-fold. On the one hand it is subject to those forces inherent in human interaction that tend to formalize patterns or relationships. Norms emerge and become accepted or even required forms of behavior, thus detracting from the initial spontaneity of action. Secondly, in the larger cultural context, fundamentalist religion tends to demand a style of life of its adherents which alleviates the conditions that gave rise to the original moral and theological tenets as noted by Wesley. Ford notes that the general rise in educational level, and



improved economic conditions have operated to reduce the overall proportion of sect adherents in the region of the United States he studied. Further, he maintains that

"...sectarian beliefs do not seem to predominate even among rural residents at the present time, and there seems little likelihood that the 'new sectarianism' will be embraced by a majority of the regional population."<sup>82</sup>

To predict religious change we must, to paraphrase Tamney,<sup>83</sup> consider the degree to which a person's environment is problematic, and the degree to which he is related to his environment. "The more related a person to his environment the stronger he feels" -- one path to salvation thus becomes that of providing the individual with a meaningful identity. Sect-type religion provides an identity dependent upon similarity of circumstances rather than power or cognitive understanding. It requires a minimum of organization thus minimizing the differentiation that comes with the establishment of hierarchies. Conversion implies personal perfection -- a subjective state minimally dependent on externally visible criteria. When a group of people are loosely attached to their environment in the sense that traditional forms of interaction are broken down, and educational and economic circumstances are relatively unfavorable, the situation is ripe for religious fundamentalism. When, however, new norms emerge and become stabilized, and economic and educational circumstances improve, fundamentalistic religion tends to lose its appeal.

### C. Institutionalized Sects

As the last section indicated, in a very real sense sects tend to carry the seeds of their own destruction. If they



were to refuse to alter the style and content of their worship it might be possible, with little exaggeration, to hypothesize that all sects would in fact die with founding generation, or even before one generation had expired. Bryan Wilson notes that while the tendency for sects to become denominations has been frequently noted, both in sociological and everyday use of the term, some sects persist as such over several generations. In all cases their continued existence has been possible only with certain modifications. The crucial factor in this process is that different sects have modified in different ways, and in many cases have retained certain of their original characteristics. The changes that have come about have permitted them to become stabilized bodies, while still maintaining characteristics quite unlike those of denominations. The most visible example of institutionalized sects are the Mormons and certain of the Pentecostal movements.

Wilson also points out that:

"The relationship which a sect permits itself and its members to the external world is of vital importance to the nature of its continuance."<sup>85</sup>

Because some sects have become stabilized without becoming purely denominational in character, some writers have felt it necessary to refine the traditional Church-Sect dichotomous classificatory system. Pfautz has introduced the concept of the "institutionalized sect" to refer to religious bodies which are relatively homogeneous as a result of a selective basis of recruitment, and large enough that not all members know each other even in an impersonal way. This type of sect tends to be national and even





international in distribution, and to have a significant degree of internal differentiation -- formal groups develop within the larger body. There is a balance between symbolic and non-symbolic elements; there is an official leadership; and the group enjoys the tolerance of the larger community at least and some power and prestige at best.<sup>86</sup>

Distinguishing the institutionalized sect from the "pure" sect is very useful in understanding contemporary religious movements. This distinction is based upon socio-economic factors and the all important dimension of acceptance or rejection of dominant cultural values. Along with the four-fold classification of Wilson's -- conversionist, adventist, introversionist and gnostic -- it provides a relatively complete frame of reference from which to study sectarian religion.

Wilson identifies certain features of contemporary American sects which are clearly indicative of institutionalization. All sects, he maintains, "tend to develop some sort of centralized organization, however minimal", and many have taken a step towards denominationalism by adopting the principle of specially trained leaders.<sup>87</sup> He maintains that

"For each sect there must be a position of optimal tension, where any greater degree of hostility against the world portends direct conflict, and any less suggests accommodation to worldly values."<sup>88</sup>

For the sect to persist as an organization it must not only separate its members from the world but must also ensure the dissimilarity of its own values from those of the secular world.<sup>89</sup> So long as it





maintains this distinction its identity will be secure in spite of rational bureaucratic organization and professional clergy -- which are no longer distinguishing criteria.<sup>90</sup>

Several writers have reported studies of specific religious groups to exemplify the concept of the institutionalized sect. O'Dea's study of the Mormons revealed that they have retained many sect-like characteristics such as the following:

- "(1) a sense of peculiarity, of election, and of covenant
- (2) a tendency to withdraw from the gentile world
- (3) a commitment to 'warning the world' and 'gathering the elect' ....and
- (4) chiliastic expectations...."<sup>91</sup>

However, in spite of the retention of these characteristics, since 1890 the basic reaction of the Mormon church has been one of accommodation to the demands of secular society. Joachim Wach stated (while the church-sect dichotomy was still in vogue) that the Mormons fit neither category.<sup>92</sup> Davies too discusses the "middle-class propensities" of the Mormon church, showing how around 1855 it was clearly anti-establishment and anti-capitalist, while by the turn of the century it had become clearly anti-labor while retaining a puritannical moral code.<sup>93</sup> Whitley reports of the Disciples of Christ that they began very sect-like and are becoming a denomination although many sectarian characteristics remain. Further:

"Available evidence indicates that the survival of sect-like characteristics in this group is most apparent in the rural areas and/or among congregations of recent rural to urban migrants."<sup>94</sup>



It is possible then, to speak of "sects" as a type of religious organization without fear of criticism based on some one aspect of a particular group which more closely approximates what has traditionally been associated with "churches" or "denominations". If we allow that an ideal type is by nature multi-dimensional, and that it is a hypothetical construct rarely if ever to be found in its pure form in the objective world, the terms "sect" and the refined sub-type "institutionalized sect" include a wide range of fundamentalistic religious movements which otherwise might not be clearly classifiable.

#### D. Denominations

The term "denomination" is derived from the Latin nomen, or "name". Werner Stark points out that the term is particularly appropriate for those religious organizations that have become established in a social order -- members of a denominational group are not distinguished from their fellow citizens, as are members of sects, by a sense of alienation and/or opposition. "They are different from the rest of society in name rather than in fact."<sup>95</sup> Nottingham describes denominations as being relatively stable, large and complex, and characterized by conventional and formal discipline. "The denomination neither withdraws from, fights, nor controls the world, but for the most part co-operates with it."<sup>96</sup> The rise of denominations is reflective of changes in the rest of society. Kingsley Davis maintains that as human societies move from a Gemeinschaft type to a Gesellschaft type four trends are noticeable: (1) gods tend to be withdrawn from the local scene; (2) anthropo-



morphism tends to diminish; (3) religion tends to be increasingly separated from everyday affairs; and (4) the religious system tends to become fragmented.<sup>97</sup>

Lenski reinforces the idea that religion becomes separated from everyday affairs. Describing denominations as characterized by doctrinal orthodoxy as opposed to the devotional orientation of sects he comments as follows:

"...(D)octrinal orthodoxy tends to foster a compartmentalized view of life, that is to say, it fosters the view that one's religious commitments are irrelevant to most aspects of one's daily life. The devotional orientation by contrast was clearly linked with certain definite and distinct patterns of thought and action in the so-called secular spheres of life..."<sup>98</sup>

As is the case with the sect, there is general agreement among most students of religion as to the defining characteristics of an established church -- or denomination. Again it is important to remember that the concept "denomination" is an ideal type, and therefore multi-dimensional. Whitley summarizes the work of Troeltsch, Weber, Park, Becker, Clark and Niebuhr and offers the following characteristics:

- "(1) membership by birth;
- (2) institutional administration of the means of grace, through dogma and ecclesiastical hierarchy;
- (3) inclusiveness, in that it attempts to amalgamate with the State and the dominant classes;
- (4) the tendency to attempt conversion of all members of society; and
- (5) the tendency to compromise with, or adjust to, the ethics of the secular world."<sup>99</sup>





Essentially identical definitions are offered by Dynes<sup>100</sup> and Poblete and O'Dea<sup>101</sup>. Johnson includes these five factors and adds the related one of conservatism.<sup>102</sup> Pfautz includes these factors and adds the characteristics of (1) social homogeneity, and (2) more symbolic than non-symbolic in nature.<sup>103</sup> Wilson's description of a denomination is much more elaborate, and in addition to the above eight factors he notes the following: (1) it is formally a voluntary association; (2) it emphasizes breadth and tolerance; (3) it does not expel members; (4) its self-conception is ill-defined; (5) it is content to be one movement among many; (6) it has a trained, professional ministry; (7) lay participation is restricted by means of highly formalized services; (8) education of the young is more important than evangelism of outsiders; (9) church-based groups engage in many non-religious activities; and (10) membership of each congregation is socially compatible.<sup>104</sup>

Referring to the world-building function of religion and the effect a highly specialized society has on this function, Berger comments as follows:

"The world-building potency of religion is thus restricted to the construction of subworlds, of fragmented universes of meaning, the plausibility structure of which may in some cases be no larger than the nuclear family. Since the modern family is notoriously fragile as an institution (a trait it shares with all other formations of the private sphere), this means that religion resting on this kind of plausibility structure is of necessity a tenuous construction."<sup>105</sup>

Berger talks of secularization as the process which contributes to the specialization of religious activity -- by



bringing about a demonopolization of religious tradition and consequently encouraging religious pluralism. In America now different religious groups have the same legal status and in essence are in competition with each other, as well as various non-religious rivals, in the business of defining the world.<sup>106</sup>

"...(T)he religious ex-monopolies can no longer take for granted the allegiance of their client populations. Allegiance is voluntary and thus, by definition, less than certain. As a result, the religious tradition, which previously could be authoritatively imposed, now has to be marketed. It must be 'sold' to a clientele that is no longer constrained to buy."<sup>107</sup>

Berger also comments on the effect of increasing bureaucratization on religious denominations:

"The spread of bureaucratic structures through the religious institutions has the consequence that these, irrespective of their various theological traditions, increasingly resemble each other sociologically."<sup>108</sup>

Bureaucratization occurs in both internal and external social relations: internally for day-to-day operations, and externally for relationships with other institutions -- fund raising, public relations, lobbying, investment and so on.

It becomes necessary for denominations to collaborate because of the need to rationalize competition in the pluralistic milieu. That is, when it becomes impossible to utilize the political machinery of the society to eliminate religious rivals, a competitive market emerges. But due to the over-riding ethic of tolerance the now highly organized competition is in fact tempered -- primarily through interdenominational agencies which permit the denominations



to rationally plan their mutual expansion.<sup>109</sup> Berger maintains that religious pluralism as it exists in America today affects the content of religion as well as the form. That is, because religion becomes a marketed thing, it is subject to the whims of fashion, which requires considerable standardization of content.<sup>110</sup>

There is evident, however, a reaction to this process, but it is in essence not a meaningful one:

"The renewed emphasis on denominational identities...is actually part of the same process of the rationalization of competition. The 'countervailing movement' is brought about by the need for marginal differentiation in an over-all situation of standardization."<sup>111</sup>

Denominational identity is primarily based upon social honor according to Lenski.<sup>112</sup> Clearly in western culture social honor is based upon socio-economic status which thus becomes a basic criteria of differentiation among denominations as well as being of considerable importance in distinguishing denominations from sects.<sup>113</sup> Harry Johnson contends that most members of denominations are somewhat secularized, and while some take their religion very seriously, many see going to church as merely one of the duties of an upstanding member of the community. That is, religion has become one interest among many.<sup>114</sup>

#### E. Church and State -- Operative Religion

The term "establishment" has been used to describe the religious institution both in the United States<sup>115</sup> and in Canada<sup>116</sup>. Peter Berger maintains that this is more than a sociological metaphor -- that it refers to much the same situation found





in many European countries where there is an "intimate relationship between church and state". The real question thus becomes not whether or not the two are separate, but what is the nature of their relationship? In Europe the common pattern is direct tax support of the church while in North America support takes the form of tax exemptions. In either case there is a close relationship between church and state.<sup>117</sup> Where such a relationship prevails, the tendency is of course for church and state to work closely in defense of the status quo. Berger notes that a writer in nineteenth century England described the Church of England as the Conservative Party gathered for prayer.<sup>118</sup> Yinger makes a similar observation as follows:

"The church cannot change basic secular institutions: it will sponsor modification of them only when important groups have already moved in that direction."<sup>119</sup>

In discussing Campbell and Pettigrew's book on racial problems in Little Rock, Christians in Racial Crisis, Lenski points out that "...the more established the man or the church, the greater the tendency to compromise or to rationalize."<sup>120</sup> He later sums up the relationship as follows:

"...(R)eligion and politics can never be totally separated. Though there may be significant variations in the patterns of relationships between church and state, some pattern of alliance is almost certain to be present, whether officially or unofficially. The state strives to gain recognition as the legitimate, sovereign authority, and religious groups are major forces shaping men's views on legitimacy; churches on the other hand are eager to conquer the forces of evil (however defined)





and the state possesses instruments which can be useful in this struggle. In short the basis for a mutually rewarding symbiotic relationship is always present."<sup>121</sup>

Peter Berger also speaks of the legitimating function of religion with respect to the "swaying edifice of social order". By legitimation he means sanctifying socially objectivated knowledge that serves to explain and justify the social order. That is, religion provides answers to questions of "why" with respect to institutional arrangements both in a cognitive and a normative sense.<sup>122</sup>

"Religion legitimates social institutions by bestowing upon them an ultimately valid ontological status, that is, by locating them within a sacred and cosmic frame of reference."<sup>123</sup>

Glenn Vernon comes to essentially the same conclusion after a lengthy discussion of the relationship of church to state:

"A major function of a religion in a society, as we have seen, is to provide definitions of sacredness to certain aspects of the society thereby attributing to those aspects supernatural approval or endorsement."<sup>124</sup>

There is a theoretically important variation between situations in which an entire society serves as the plausibility structure for one's weltanschauung and situations in which only sub-societies serve as such. That is, there is a difference between religious monopolies and situations where religious groups seek to maintain themselves in a situation of pluralistic competition. The problem of maintenance of social order is much simpler in the former case; in the latter case to maintain social order it is necessary for



virtually all important social processes within the society to confirm the existing structure.<sup>125</sup>

The latter situation is clearly the case in America today as described by Will Herberg. It is because all social institutions serve to confirm the dominant value system -- the middle class ethos -- that Herberg is able to describe America as the most religious and the most secular of nations at the same time.<sup>126</sup>

Roucek has pointed out, in a manner reminiscent of Pierre Berton's comments on the origins of Christianity, that most early Americans were dissenters from national churches, but they have quickly formed a new establishment.<sup>129</sup> However, Berger maintains that its role of legitimation may be near an end. The Christian theodicy has begun to disintegrate in the consciousness of Western man largely because of the advent of the age of revolution.

"History and human actions in history have become the dominant instrumentalities by which the nominalization of suffering and evil is to be sought. ...The social theodicy of Christianity (that is, its legitimation of the inequalities of society) has been collapsing along with the over-all plausibility of the Christian theodicy. ...If the Christian explanation of the world no longer holds, then the Christian legitimation of social order cannot be maintained very long either."<sup>128</sup>

#### F. Religion in America Today

"American society is often described as 'middle-class', and this has at least a double meaning. Its first meaning is that probably the majority of the American people thinks of itself as middle-class, including many people who by objective criteria such as income might be placed either higher or lower



in the stratification system. Its second meaning is the persuasive influence throughout the entire culture of outlooks and values that have their origin in the middle strata."<sup>129</sup>

Berger notes further that some organizations may begin as organs of religious conversion but become organs of conversion to the middle-class values and style of life. He cites the Salvation Army and the Y.M.C.A. as examples.<sup>130</sup> If we view the middle-class value system as the operative religion of the United States, clearly such conversion is religious, even in the sense of the contemporary theologians such as Paul Tillich who define religion as that which concerns one ultimately. Yinger, for example, claims that this is a good starting point for a functional analysis of religion.<sup>131</sup> Berger claims that church-goers hold the same values as everyone else (perhaps with more solemnity) and thus religiosity is simply an explicit affirmation of the secular values of the society at large.<sup>132</sup> Berton describes Canadians as characterized by a weakening religious faith -- in the traditional meaning of the term -- due to the fact that people tend to shop for a religion just as they would for any other well-advertised product. If it were accepted for its absolute validity it could remain strong, but its strength wanes when it becomes a tool for attaining worldly success.<sup>133</sup> Worldly success is of course associated with identification with the dominant value system. Hobart points out that religious organizations have now become very acceptable within the American Way of Life as described by Herberg and thus have great appeal to immigrants -- unlike the past when membership in an ethnically based sect stood as a signpost of separation.<sup>134</sup>





Clearly the broad base of all American religious groups is predominantly Judeo-Christian, and over 80 per cent of American Protestants belong to fewer than ten denominations. Further,

"The larger Protestant families manage, somehow, to exist side by side in mutual toleration, while some 258 or more independent groups carry on their activities with a minimum of friction."<sup>135</sup>

Johnson claims that the United States has no official religion, and thus has no church in the Troeltschean sense.<sup>136</sup> However, this statement may be somewhat misleading. Many of the nation's leaders have made statements to the effect that "religion is what America stands for."<sup>137</sup> Herberg attributes to former President Eisenhower the statement that recognition of the Supreme Being is the most basic expression of Americanism.<sup>138</sup> A Fortune editorial had this to say:

"As the leading democracy of the world, therefore, the United States is perforce the leading practical exponent of Christianity. The U.S. is not Christian in any formal religious sense: its churches are not full on Sundays and its citizens transgress the precepts freely. But it is Christian in the sense of absorption. The basic teachings of Christianity are in its blood stream.... Christian idealism is manifest in the culture and habits of the people, in the arguments that orators and politicians use to gain their ends; in the popular ideas of good taste, which control advertising, movies, radio, and all forms of public opinion; in laws, the manners, and the standards of our people."<sup>139</sup>

And the Supreme Court of the United States has declared the nation to be Christian on numerous occasions because "...in a broad sense...



Christian principles underlie its laws and values."<sup>140</sup>

It would thus seem justified to conclude, as does Johnson, that the United States does have a dominant value system, and that this system is that identified by Herberg as the American Way of Life. Further, Johnson points out that most religious organizations accept this system, and have a mutually binding norm of mutual toleration. Social cleavages based upon religious differences per se are not sustained -- members of all faiths are allowed to engage in activities with members of all other faiths. However, ideological controversies between political left and right tend to be reflected in a similar division in both Protestantism and Catholicism.<sup>142</sup> Religious values have achieved enormous popularity in the United States in comparison to other industrial nations largely because of its support of secular values.<sup>143</sup> Johnson posits that it is --

"...plausible to suggest that we should regard the United States as the second major historical example since the beginning of the Christian era of a culture that has an essentially comprehensive and integrative religious system."<sup>144</sup>

In summary, in North America -- at least as exemplified by the United States -- an over-riding system of values has become evident which is in Herberg's terms an "idealized middle-class ethos".<sup>145</sup> It is secular in nature although it has some basis in the Judeo-Christian heritage. Most people who belong to religious organizations support these values, with the possible exception of sect adherents. But "pure sects" are definitely a small minority which appears to be getting smaller -- both through the death of



some organizations and the "institutionalization" of others. In the latter case, certain value differences remain, but sociologically the groups become more denominational -- and secular -- in character. Of the Appalachian region, for example, Ford reports as follows:

"(S)ectarian beliefs do not seem to predominate even among rural residents at the present time, and there seems little likelihood that the 'new sectarianism' will be embraced by a majority of the population."<sup>146</sup>

#### G. Hypotheses

The trend away from fundamentalistic sect-type religion and towards denominational religion has been well documented in the United States. To date, however, most studies of Alberta have emphasized the fundamentalism of its residents without looking for trends over the past years -- particularly since the depression and the following world war. Because Alberta is industrializing and becoming basically urban at at least the same rate as the rest of Canada, and at a rate comparable to most areas of the United States, it would seem logical to suspect that there is a trend -- by now well-established -- away from fundamentalism.

Hypothesis 1. A smaller proportion of Alberta residents are currently affiliated with fundamentalistic sects than was so affiliated 30 years ago.

Corollary The proportion of Alberta residents affiliated with denominations has increased over the past 30 years.

The shift from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban society has had a pronounced affect on the decline of funda-





mentalism elsewhere.

Hypothesis 1a. Affiliation with fundamentalistic sects will be significantly greater among rural than urban respondents.

Not just urbanization per se, but the many technical and social changes that are cause and consequence of it must effect the beliefs and life-styles of the people of Alberta. The changing atmosphere will have the most profound effect on young people -- unable to fall back on traditional value-systems because they are from a very young age thrown into contact with alternate life-styles through personal experiences at school and by means of the mass media.

Hypothesis 1b. Sect affiliation will vary directly with age.

Sect-type religions in Alberta, as elsewhere, have traditionally been associated with ethnic communities.<sup>147</sup> Individuals whose families have been here for several generations will have experienced greater exposure to those social forces mitigating against this type of religion.

Hypothesis 1c. Sect affiliation will vary inversely with generation of respondent.

It has been shown that the large American churches live in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance -- that religious differences are secondary to secular similarities. Lenski reported in his Detroit study that there was no difference between Roman Catholic and Protestants with respect to the endorsement of the Protestant Ethic -- a value traditionally associated with Protestantism. He notes however, that his work in this area was limited and constituted only a bare beginning.<sup>148</sup> Dynes has reported that holding





denominational affiliation constant, the difference in certain values associated with religious attitudes is associated with socio-economic status.<sup>149</sup> Given that there is general consensus of all writers that religious affiliation differs among social classes, the following hypotheses will be tested:

Hypothesis 2. When social class is not held constant, there will be significant differences among denominations with respect to the value-preferences of adherents as reflected in religious, materialistic, Anomie and Protestant Ethic indices.

Hypothesis 2a. With social class held constant there will be no significant differences among denominations with respect to value-preferences.

The term "The American Way of Life" has been defined but loosely. To bring more precision to this concept the following hypothesis will be tested.

Hypothesis 2b. Materialistic and pragmatic values will be more strongly endorsed than religious and moral values by adherents of all denominations.

These hypotheses, then, will test whether there has been a shift away from fundamentalism and towards denominationalism, firstly by looking at demographic data and secondly by relating affiliation to the time-oriented variables of age and generation as well as that of urbanization. The second aspect of the study will test whether there has been a general homogenization of values among denominational adherents, and if so, what the nature of the predominant contemporary value system is.



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138. HERBERG, Protestant, Catholic, Jew, op. cit., p. 279
139. quoted in YINGER, Religion, Society and the Individual, op. cit., p. 244
140. Ibid.
141. JOHNSON, Benton, op. cit., p. 544
142. Ibid., p. 547
143. Ibid., p. 545
144. Ibid.
145. HERBERG, Protestant, Catholic, Jew, op. cit., p. 94
146. FORD, op. cit., p. 12
147. MANN, op. cit., p. 43
148. LENSKEI, op. cit., p. 325
149. DYNES, op. cit., p. 560



## CHAPTER IV

### METHODOLOGY

In this chapter is found information on the sources of data used for this thesis, the population studied, the sampling procedure, the sample actually obtained, the representativeness of the sample, and the interview schedule and technique. It concludes with a brief description of the statistical analysis used.

#### A. Sources of Data

Two sources of data were used for this thesis: (1) Census Bulletins of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for 1931, 1961, and 1966, and Taxation statistics for 1967; and (2) survey data obtained throughout the province by the Provincial Department of Youth. The former was used in an attempt to determine the appropriateness of the sample, and to establish whether there has been a general trend away from fundamentalistic religious affiliation towards a more denominational affiliation among residents of Alberta over the past thirty-five years; the latter was used to describe in greater detail the relationships of selected variables to current religious affiliation.

##### 1. Census Data

Census data for 1966 and Taxation statistics for 1967



were used to check the representativeness of the survey sample with respect to age, sex and income, while 1961 data (the most recent available) was used to do the same for education.

The religious groups identified in the census were categorized as sects, denominations, and "other" on the basis of W. E. Mann's earlier work in this area.<sup>1</sup> A problem was presented by the Baptist Church because it includes a wide range of congregations, some of which are best classified as sects, while others are more denominational in character. Because neither the census data nor the survey data differentiated among the different types of congregations within this movement, it was necessary to include it as a single entry. While numbers of Baptist congregations are clearly sect-like (in terms of the established sect), few are clearly denominational. In terms of numbers, Baptists both by the 1931 and the 1961 census numbered more than the largest "pure" sect, and fewer than the smallest denomination with the exception of four denominations minimally represented in Alberta. Thus it was decided to include Baptists with sects for purposes of this thesis. Further justification for this decision can be offered in that for this study, institutionalized, or established, sects have been included with pure sects because of the fact that they have retained many sect-like features even though they have made certain structural modifications in order to persist.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Survey Data

The second source of data was a survey of recreational needs, activities and aspirations conducted by the Research Division of the Provincial Department of Youth from the late fall





of 1967 to the fall of 1968. The author was employed by this Division for a period of two years, and was deeply involved in all phases of the project. The survey attempted to obtain information from individuals in a sample of representative areas of Alberta. The fact that the data were collected by a governmental department with no specific religious interests adds a degree of validity to the data not always found in religious studies, in that no vested interests could possibly be served. The Recreation Survey Schedule included a wide range of items, and only those directly relevant to this research have been analyzed for this thesis. These items are listed in Appendix B, and include the socio-economic variables of income, occupation and education; the time-oriented variables of age and generation; religious affiliation; and three value scales - Srole's Anomie Scale,<sup>3</sup> a Protestant Ethic Scale,<sup>4</sup> and a checklist of values.<sup>5</sup>

#### Sample and Sampling Procedure

In order to obtain information from all types of centers in the province, the recreation survey was conducted in fourteen geographic areas. These areas were selected principally on the basis of population size -- large cities, small cities, towns and villages, and rural areas. Because different kinds of demographic data were available for different areas, sampling procedures were not uniform for all areas studied. The procedures used are described below. No data were collected from identifiable and geographically separated minority groups such as Hutterites and Indians.



1) Large Urban Centers: Edmonton and Calgary

A search of City and Henderson's directories revealed that there were approximately 113,000 families dwelling in Edmonton. A sample size of 900 was decided upon as adequate to generalize to the entire city. The civic election list was entered at random, and each 125th name and corresponding address was recorded on a card. Cards were then alternatively designated as male and female to ensure equal representation of the sexes. Interviewers were instructed that if there were two persons of the designated sex, over eighteen years of age and out of school, in a given household, the younger was to be interviewed. The intent of this instruction was to compensate for the fact that younger respondents are more often lost from the sample because they are away from home a greater percentage of the time than are older respondents.

There was considerable loss of the sample because many respondents had moved within the past year, some were away from the city, some in hospital, some had died and 12% refused to be interviewed. Thus it was deemed necessary to resample for 150 names - the election list was again entered at random and every 750th name was recorded. The final sample consisted of 717 respondents. Exactly the same sampling procedure was followed in Calgary, with every 110th name being selected originally. Loss of respondents for the various reasons was almost identical in Calgary as it had been in Edmonton. The resample in Calgary included 150 names, obtained by selecting each 650th name. The final sample for Calgary consisted of 729 respondents.



2) Smaller cities: Lethbridge, Red Deer, Grande Prairie

The same sampling procedures were used in the smaller cities as had been used in the two large urban centers. From election enumeration lists every nth name was chosen to provide a sample of the desired size. Sample sizes were as follows:

Lethbridge            N = 430

Red Deer             N = 205

Grande Prairie       N = 227

3) Towns and Villages: Crowsnest Pass (Blairmore, Coleman, Bellevue, Hillcrest, Sentinel, Frank), Coaldale, Taber, Leduc, Morinville

In each town a map showing all lots with dwellings on them was obtained. The lots were numbered systematically, and using a table of random numbers, the predetermined number was selected to have an occupant interviewed. Again an equal number of males and females were designated. The number of respondents in each case was as follows:

Crowsnest Pass       N = 400

Leduc                N = 60

Morinville           N = 61

Taber                 N = 182

Coaldale             N = 94

4) Rural Areas (adjacent to each of the following towns and cities): Coaldale, Edgerton, Fairview, Grande Prairie, Leduc, Morinville, Ponoka-Lacombe, Red Deer, Spruce Grove-Stony Plain, Strathmore, Taber

For each rural area, land ownership maps were obtained.





Within a specified radius of Coaldale, Grande Prairie, Leduc, Morinville, Red Deer, and Taber, approximately the same number of respondents were selected as had been obtained in the corresponding centers. The selection was carried out by listing the names systematically, and, entering the list at random, recording every nth name. In the other rural areas (Edgerton, Fairview, Ponoka-Lacombe, Spruce Grove-Stony Plain, and Strathmore) the interview schedule was expanded slightly to obtain information required by the Junior Farmers' Union of Alberta. Because of the special interests of this group only respondents between the ages of eighteen and thirty years were interviewed. These respondents were selected by reviewing land-ownership maps of the areas with District Agriculturists and long-time residents of the areas to determine where all rural young people lived. A random sample was selected from the list of young people thus obtained. The number of respondents from each of the eleven areas was as follows:

Coaldale	N = 96
Edgerton	N = 41
Fairview	N = 61
Grande Prairie	N = 223
Leduc	N = 55
Morinville	N = 59
Ponoka-Lacombe	N = 19
Red Deer	N = 196
Spruce Grove- Stony Plain	N = 56





Strathmore	N = 122
Taber	N = 117
Total Rural Sample	N = 1,045
Total Sample	N = 4,150

#### Representativeness of Sample

The sample drawn for the recreation survey was designed to be representative of all types of areas and of populations within these areas but not necessarily representative of the population of the province as a whole. Accordingly it is necessary to compare certain characteristics of the total sample with census data to determine how representative it is. Table IV-1 shows the breakdown of the survey sample by age and sex, and compares it to a similar distribution for the province as a whole based upon census figures.



TABLE IV - 1

OBTAINED SAMPLE AND POPULATION OF ALBERTAAGED 18 YEARS AND OVER, 1966,BY AGE-SEX GROUPINGS

	<u>Sample</u>		<u>Population*</u>		<u>Sample Error</u>
<u>Male</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
18 to 35 years	739	17.9	180,159	20.6	-2.7
36 to 55 years	704	17.1	164,034	18.8	-1.6
56 years and over	417	10.1	100,861	11.5	-1.4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,860	45.0	445,054	50.9	-5.9
 <u>Female</u>					
18 to 35 years	991	24.0	179,507	20.5	+3.5
36 to 55 years	863	20.9	157,994	18.1	+2.8
56 years and over	415	10.1	91,881	10.5	-0.4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2,269	55.0	429,382	49.1	+5.9
 <u>Total Sample</u>					
18 to 35 years	1,730	41.9	359,666	41.1	+0.8
36 to 55 years	1,567	38.0	322,028	36.8	+1.2
56 years and over	1,832	20.2	192,742	22.0	-1.8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	4,129	100.1	874,436	99.9	

\*Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1966 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-611, Volume 1(1-11), January 1968. pp. 25-2,3,4,5,6

From Table IV - 1 it is evident that the sample slightly under-represents males (5.9%) and over-represents females



(5.9%). The largest discrepancy of any age-sex category is found among females from 18 to 35 years of age, this group being over-represented by 3.5%. Considering age by itself, the population 56 years of age and over is under-represented by 1.8%, and that from 36 to 55 years of age is over-represented by 1.2%. The overall error for the individual categories, and for the sample as a whole, does not appear to be very great.

Table IV - 2 compares the highest level of schooling obtained by respondents in the sample with that of members of the population of Alberta who were 18 years of age or over in 1961 and not attending school.





TABLE IV - 2  
HIGHEST LEVEL OF SCHOOLING OBTAINED FOR SAMPLE  
AND FOR POPULATION OF ALBERTA 18 YEARS OF AGE  
OR OVER AND NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL, 1961.

<u>Years of Education</u>	<u>Sample</u>		<u>Population*</u>		<u>Sample Error</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
None	32	0.7	15,329	2.0	- 1.2
Elementary** (1 - 7)	686	16.5	287,573	37.8	-21.3
Secondary** (8 - 12)	2,942	70.9	401,664	52.8	+18.1
Some University	247	6.0	31,580	4.2	+ 1.8
University Degree	243	5.9	24,063	3.2	+ 2.7
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	4,150	100.1	760,209	100.0	

\*Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census of Canada, Bulletin 1.3-6, Table 103, October 1963, p. 103-11

\*\*The survey data was coded with grades 7 & 8 together. For this table this category was split evenly.

Table IV - 2 indicates that the sample is very nearly accurate with respect to the proportion of respondents having no formal education (an error of -1.2%) but it is quite under-representative of those with just elementary education (-21.3%). It over-represents respondents with some secondary education (+18.1%) and again is fairly accurate for those with some university (over by 1.8%) and those with a university degree (over by 2.7%). Some of the error evident in Table IV - 2 is undoubtedly due to the fact



that the census figures predate the survey data by seven years. That is, one would expect the survey data to reflect a slightly higher level of education given that young people (particularly young women who were over-represented in the sample - Table IV - 1) are generally staying in school longer as society becomes more complex, and the range of occupations open to women becomes broader. However, the seven year difference between survey and census data clearly would not account for the full 21.3% error found in Table IV - 2. From 1951 to 1961 the proportion of Alberta residents reporting to the census that they had no formal education dropped from 7.7%<sup>6</sup> to 2.0%, or by 5.7%. The proportion of Albertans reporting just elementary education dropped by a similar amount -- from 43.2%<sup>7</sup> to 37.8%, or by 5.4%. It would thus be safe to claim that the sample was very precise with respect to the proportion of Albertans having no education (less than a 1% error), while the proportion having just an elementary education is probably under-represented by about 15%. The proportion of Alberta residents who had obtained some secondary education increased from 41.5%<sup>8</sup> in 1951 to 52.8% in 1961, or by 11.3%. Extrapolating this trend, one might expect an increase in this category of about 8 to 10% from 1961 to 1967 -- thus the error here would be only about 10%. To extend these to 1971, one might expect the proportion of Albertans having no education to drop below the 1% level, the proportion having just an elementary education to be under 30%, the proportion having a secondary education to approach 65%, and the proportion with some university or college education to exceed 10%. (There was virtually no change in the proportions of those who had attended university or college between 1951 -- 7.6%<sup>9</sup> -- and 1961 -- 7.4%.)



Table IV - 3 shows the distribution of household income for the sample and for the population of Alberta for the year 1967.

TABLE IV - 3

HOUSEHOLD INCOME FOR SAMPLE AND FOR

POPULATION OF ALBERTA, 1967

<u>Income</u>	<u>Sample</u>		<u>Population*</u>		<u>Sample Error</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Less than \$1500.00	363	10.3	24,823	5.3	+ 5.0
\$1500.00 to \$4499.99	981	27.8	203,592	43.2	-14.4
\$4500.00 to \$7999.99	1,419	40.2	168,885	35.9	+ 4.3
\$8000.00 and over	766	21.7	73,676	15.6	+ 5.1
	<u>3,549**</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>470,976</u>	<u>100.0</u>	

\* Department of National Revenue, Taxation, Taxation Statistics: 1969 Edition, Ottawa, Queens Printer, 1969, Table 8, p. 114

\*\* No information was available for 601 of the sample respondents.

From Table IV - 3 it is evident that the sample over-represents the extremes of the income scale by about 5% and under-represents the low-middle income group by 14.4%.



Table IV - 4 shows the rural-urban distribution of the sample and of the population of Alberta in 1966.

TABLE IV - 4  
RURAL-URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE AND OF  
POPULATION OF ALBERTA, 1966

	<u>Sample</u>		<u>Population*</u>		<u>Sample Error</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Urban (10,000 and over)	2,308	55.6	811,717	55.5	+0.1
Town (1,000 to 9,999)	797	19.2	195,690	13.4	+5.8
Rural (under 1,000)	1,045	25.2	455,796	31.2	-6.0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	4,150	100.0	1,463,203	100.1	

\* Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1966 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-608, Volume 1(1-8), Tables 13 & 14, March 1968, pp. 14-12, 13-13

From Table IV - 4 one can see that the sample is very nearly exact in terms of representation of the urban population of the province, while it over-represents that proportion of the population living in towns (from 1,000 to 9,999 residents) by 5.8% and under-represents the rural population by 6.0%.

Table IV - 5 compares the proportions of the sample affiliated with the various religious groups with similar proportions from the population.





TABLE IV - 5

DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF SAMPLE  
AND OF POPULATION OF ALBERTA, 1961

<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Sample</u>		<u>Population*</u>		<u>Sample Error</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
United, Methodist, Presbyterian	1,090	26.3	474,717	35.6	-9.3
Roman Catholic	948	22.8	298,741	22.4	+0.4
Anglican	349	8.4	156,630	11.8	-3.4
Lutheran	309	7.4	122,520	9.2	-1.8
Baptist, Mennonite, Christian Reformed	210	5.1	69,851	5.2	-0.1
Other Sects	171	4.1	79,450	6.0	-1.9
Eastern Orthodox, Ukrainian Catholic	64	1.5	82,613	6.2	-4.7
No religion** <sup>10</sup>	885	21.7	--	--	
Not reported** <sup>10</sup>	124	2.9	--	--	
Other <sup>11</sup>	--	--	47,422	3.6	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	4,150	100.2	1,331,944	100.0	

\* Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census of Canada, Bulletin 1.2-6, 1962, pp. 42-1, 2

\*\* No comparable categories were listed in the Census Table.

From Table IV - 5 it is evident that the sample is fairly representative of all religious groups clearly identified in the survey. The largest discrepancy is for the category which



includes United, Methodist, and Presbyterian which is under-represented by 9.3%. Under-representation of less than 5.0% is evident for each of the other Protestant organizations and there is a very slight over-representation of Roman Catholics (0.4%).

The five tables presented above show an under-representation of males, and of respondents with minimal education, low income and from rural setting. Although the under-representation is not continuous in the sense that those with lowest incomes and least education are not the most under-represented, there is a consistent under-representation of those towards the lower end of the socio-economic scale as indexed by income and education. This fact will be born in mind in discussing the findings reported in Chapter V.

#### B. Interview Schedule and Technique

The interview schedule consisted of approximately 170 items (minor additions and/or deletions were made for each area in consultation with local recreation staff members). The questions that were relevant to this study are listed in Appendix B.

In each area of the study, an appropriate number of interviewers was hired. Those selected underwent an intensive orientation session during which the skills of interviewing were discussed at length, and interviewers were thoroughly familiarized with the rationale for the study and the interview schedule. Before going into the field, interviewers were paired off and conducted mock interviews, switching roles so that each had a chance to be both interviewer and respondent. The first two days of interviewing



in each case was conducted in the presence of an experienced interviewer - one day observing the experienced interviewer and one being observed by same. At the end of the two-day period, all interviewers gathered again with the supervisor and all problems were aired and solved. The interview schedule ended with provision for the interviewer to evaluate the rapport established, and to note the nature of any unusual circumstances. Virtually no problems were reported, and rapport was almost without exception rated as good to excellent.

### C. Analysis

Statistical analysis of the data was kept relatively simple. Because several of the variables were nominal, all cross tabulations were tested for significance with the statistic chi-square. The critical level of chi-square was designated as .05. In addition to the test for significance, the statistic C was computed to measure association between variables.





FOOTNOTES

1. Mann, op. cit.
2. See Chapter III, pp. 58-62
3. For a discussion of the Anomie Scale see Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries; an Exploratory Study", A.S.R., 21, (December 1956), pp. 709 - 716
4. The basis for this scale is to be found in the Comparative Value Project, National Institute of Mental Health, Grant No. 4309-R1, United States Government. Benton Johnson's original items were modified for use in Alberta in C. W. Hobart, General Report - Community Opportunity Assessment, Executive Council - Government of Alberta, Edmonton, March 1967. For the Recreation Survey, the scale was reduced from six items to three, on the basis of Hobart's earlier work.
5. The checklist of values was used to determine "Life Goals", in Ibid., pp. 235 - 239
6. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ninth Census of Canada, 1951, vol. 1, Table 59, 1953, p. 59-4
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. The categories "No religion", "Not stated", and "Other" have not been used consistently in census data over the past 3 decades. The following table indicates the magnitude of each of these categories where they have been used.

		<u>Not Stated</u>		<u>No Religion</u>		<u>Other</u>	
		<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1931*	(N= 731,605)	1,023	0.1	2,188	0.3	(not used)	
1941**	(N= 796,169)	(not used)		(not used)		18,325	2.3
1951***	(N= 939,501)	(not used)		7,314	0.8	18,676	2.0
1961****	(N=1,331,944)	(not used)		(not used)		37,584	2.8

\*Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. II, 1933, pp. 508, 509



\*\* Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Table 50, 1950, p. 724

\*\*\* Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Table 38, 1953, p. 38-1

\*\*\*\*Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census of Canada, Bulletin 1.2-6, 1962, pp. 42-1, 42-2.

Although the Census Bulletins do not make it explicit, it appears that after 1931 individuals who did not state their religion were not specifically identified, but rather were included in the "Other" category. "No religion" was not used as a separate category in 1941, but appeared again in 1951. It appears likely that "Other" for the 1941 and 1961 censuses includes "no religion" because if "no religion" in 1951 is collapsed with "Other" for that year, the increase in "Other" from 1941 to 1961 becomes a smoother rise (18,325 to 25,990 to 37,584) as opposed to no change from 1941 to 1951 and then a sudden increase of over 100% in 1961.

11. The category "No Religion" used in the survey was used as a miscellaneous category to include, along with no religious affiliation, all non-Christian faiths. This would account, at least in part, for the over-representation shown in the table in that Christian denominations that are minimally represented were coded with the larger denominations that were most similar theologically.



## CHAPTER V

### FINDINGS

In this chapter we will present data, obtained as outlined in Chapter IV, relevant to the specific hypotheses generated in Chapter III. The first section will compare the religious affiliation of Alberta residents in 1931 and 1961 to determine if there have been any significant changes during that period of time; the second section will analyze some correlates of sect affiliation; and the third section will discuss the nature of the salient value systems of Alberta residents at present, and attempt to discover if any differences that occur in value preferences are related to differential religious affiliation and/or to specify correlates of observed differences.

#### A. Church and Sect Affiliation: 1931 - 1961

Hypothesis 1. A smaller proportion of Alberta residents are currently affiliated with fundamentalistic sects than was so affiliated 30 years ago.

By categorizing the various religious organizations in Alberta as "sect", "denomination", and "other" (see Appendix A) it is possible to compare the proportions of the population of Alberta that fell into each category at the time that the 1931 and 1961 censuses were taken, and to determine whether any significant change occurred during this period. Table V - 1 shows the distri-



butions for the two specified years.

TABLE V - 1  
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ALBERTA RESIDENTS  
AFFILIATED WITH SECTS, DENOMINATIONS,  
AND OTHER RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS\*  
FOR 1931 AND 1961.

Religious Affiliation	<u>Year</u>				<u>Change</u>
	<u>1931**</u>		<u>1961***</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Sect	81,786	11.2	138,149	10.4	-0.8
Denomination	643,864	88.0	1,153,686	86.6	-1.4
Other*	5,955	0.8	40,109	3.0	+2.2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	731,605	100.0	1,331,944	100.0	

\* Includes "Not Stated", "No Religion", and Non-Christian Religions.

\*\* Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. II, 1933, pp. 508, 509

\*\*\*Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1961, Bulletin 1.2-6, 1962, pp. 42-1, 42-2.

It is evident from Table V - 1 that there has not been a substantial shift from sect membership to denominational membership in Alberta. The proportion of the population affiliated with sects dropped by 0.8% between 1931 and 1961, while the proportion of Alberta residents affiliated with denominations decreased by 1.4%. There was an increase in the proportion of residents who reported no religious affiliation, who did not reveal their affiliation to the census, or who were affiliated with non-Christian religions. The





only interpretation of these findings consistent with the hypothesis is that there may have been a very slight trend away from organized religion in general. However, this change is not sufficient to justify a claim of a trend away from fundamentalism, particularly since it is less evident among sect than among denominational members, and therefore the hypothesis must be rejected.

B. Correlates of Sect Affiliation

Hypothesis 1a. Affiliation with fundamentalistic sects will be significantly greater among rural than urban respondents.

Table V - 2 shows the distribution of respondents affiliated with different religions by rural and urban residence.

TABLE V - 2  
DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE RESPONDENTS AFFILIATED  
WITH SECTS AND DENOMINATIONS, OR REPORTING  
NO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, BY RURAL  
AND URBAN RESIDENCE

<u>Residence</u>	<u>Denomination</u>		<u>Sect</u>		<u>None</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Rural	356	70.5	78	15.4	71	14.1	505
Urban	2,218	64.7	402	11.7	810	23.6	3,430
	2,574	65.4	480	12.2	881	22.4	3,935
Chi-square = 27.657    df = 2    p < .001    C = .083							

Table V - 2 shows that a majority of both rural and urban respondents reported that they were affiliated with denominations.



Rural respondents were more likely to belong to a religious organization than were urban respondents, while urban residents were more likely to report that they were not affiliated with a church, or that they were affiliated with a non-Christian church. The association between the two variables is small ( $C = .083$ ), and from the table appears to be a product of the relationship between urban residence and non-affiliation. Thus hypothesis 1a is refuted. However, the table indicates that urbanization may be associated with a trend away from religion in general.

Hypothesis 1b. Sect affiliation will vary directly with age.

Table V - 3 shows data relevant to hypothesis 1b.

TABLE V. - 3

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE RESPONDENTS AFFILIATED  
WITH SECTS AND DENOMINATIONS, OR REPORTING  
NO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, BY AGE OF RESPONDENT

<u>Age</u>	<u>Religious Affiliation</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>Denomination</u>		<u>Sect</u>		<u>None</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Less than 36 years	1,157	65.6	209	11.9	397	22.5	1,763
36 to 55 years	1,002	67.5	196	13.2	287	19.3	1,485
Over 55 years	497	64.6	105	13.7	167	21.7	769
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2,656	66.1	510	12.7	851	21.2	4,017

Chi-square = 6.963    df = 4     $p < .20$      $C = .04$

As Table V - 3 shows, the relationship between religious affiliation and age of respondent was not significant at the 5%



probability level. The measure of association supports the conclusion that the two variables are not strongly related ( $C = .04$ ). The relationship between sect affiliation and age, although not significant, is in the direction predicted in the hypothesis: 11.9% of those under 36 years of age indicated that they belonged to a sect, 13.2% of those from 36 to 55 years of age reported sect membership, and 13.7% of those respondents over 55 years of age responded in a like manner. Respondents in the middle age group were most likely to report denominational membership (67.5% compared to 65.6% of those under 36 and 64.6% of those over 55), and younger respondents were most likely to report no religious affiliation (22.5% compared to 19.3% of those from 36 to 55 years of age and 21.7% of those over 55). The differences observed among the three age groups, while perhaps suggestive, are not sufficiently large to warrant the conclusion that age is a significant correlate of sect affiliation, thus hypothesis 1b is also refuted.

Hypothesis 1c. Sect affiliation will be  
inversely related to generation  
of Canadian residence of  
respondent.

Table V - 4 shows the affiliation of the sample members by the number of generations that their families had resided in Canada.





TABLE V - 4  
DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE RESPONDENTS AFFILIATED  
WITH SECTS AND DENOMINATIONS, OR REPORTING  
NO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION BY  
GENERATION OF CANADIAN RESIDENCE

Generation in Canada	Religious Affiliation						Total
	Denomination		Sect		None		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
First	532	61.4	135	15.6	199	23.0	866
Second	977	67.7	173	12.0	293	20.3	1,443
Third or more	849	67.7	156	12.4	249	19.9	1,254
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2,358	66.2	464	13.0	741	20.8	3,563

Chi-square = 12.472    df = 4    p < .02    C = .059

It is evident from Table V - 4 that there was a statistically significant relationship between generation of Canadian Residence of respondent and religious affiliation. The difference occurs between first generation respondents and those whose families had been here for two generations or more. First generation respondents were less likely to say that they belonged to a denomination than were second or more generation respondents (61.4% as opposed to 67.7%) and first generation respondents were also more likely to say that they belonged to a sect than were second or more generation respondents (15.6% as opposed to about 12%). Hypothesis 1c is thus upheld, although the relationship is not a strong one (C = .059).



### C. Denominations and Value-Systems

In this section we will present data to test the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2. When social class is not held constant there will be significant differences among denominations with respect to the value-preferences of adherents as reflected in religious, materialistic, Anomie and Protestant Ethic indices.

Firstly we will analyze the relationship between denominational affiliation and the degree of endorsement of each item on a list of 10 values which was presented to the survey sample,<sup>1</sup> and from which each respondent was asked to select one item as most important to him. Then we will analyze the relationship between denominational affiliation and scores obtained on the Srole Anomie Scale, and on the Protestant Ethic Scale. Finally, having discussed the relationships that occur in these cross-tabulations, we will statistically control for the socio-economic status variables of income, education and occupation to determine whether differences are a product of denominational affiliation per se, or whether they are associated with the social class characteristics of the various denominational members.

Table V - 5 shows the number and percentage of respondents from each denomination endorsing each of the six<sup>2</sup> major values presented to them.



TABLE V - 5

DISTRIBUTION OF "MOST IMPORTANT VALUES" OF  
MEMBERS OF DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION

Denominational Affiliation	Values											
	Material- ism, Inde- pendence			Health			Personal & Social Respect			Altruism Religion		
	N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%	
Roman Catholic	139	15.6		174	19.5		118	25.7		79	8.9	
Liberal Protestant*	107	10.1		213	20.2		191	18.1		78	7.4	
Anglican	51	15.0		55	16.2		49	14.4		35	10.3	
Lutheran	48	16.0		55	18.3		32	10.6		25	8.3	
Eastern Orthodox	11	19.0		17	29.3		7	12.1		3	5.1	
	356	13.4		514	19.4		397	15.0		220	8.3	
										413	15.6	
										748	28.2	
												2,648

\* United, Methodist and Presbyterian

Chi-square = 43.584      df = 20      p < .01

Corrected for contingency  
C = .127



It is evident from Table V - 5 that there were statistically significant differences among denominations with respect to which value was chosen as being most important to the respondent. Members of the three "liberal Protestant" denominations were less likely than all other respondents to endorse the values of materialism and independence (10.1%) while Eastern Orthodox respondents were most likely to name these values as most important to them (19.0%). Only 16.2% of the Anglican respondents said that keeping healthy and fit was the most important value to them, while 29.3% of the Eastern Orthodox respondents said that this was their most important value. Personal and social respect was most important to 25.7% of the Roman Catholic respondents, but only 10.6% of the Lutheran respondents chose this value as most important. The altruistic and religious values were endorsed by fewer respondents from all denominations than were any of the other values. They were more important to Anglican respondents (10.3%) than they were to respondents of any of the other denominations, and were least important to Eastern Orthodox respondents (5.1%). Being a "just and honest person" was chosen by very nearly the same proportion of respondents from each of the denominations, being most important to members of the Eastern Orthodox faith (19.0%) and least important to members of the Lutheran faith (14.6%). Family ties and relationships were considerably less important to Eastern Orthodox respondents (15.5%) than they were to members of any of the other denominations (over 25% in all cases). This item was most frequently chosen by all respondents with the exception of





Eastern Orthodox adherents, among whom it ranked in fourth place.

The second item to test for differences among denominations was the Srole Anomie Scale. Table V - 6 gives the distribution of anomie scores by denominational affiliation.

TABLE V - 6  
DISTRIBUTION OF ANOMIE SCORES OF MEMBERS  
OF DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION

		<u>Anomie Scores</u>					
<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Low(0,1)</u>		<u>Medium(2,3)</u>		<u>High(4,5)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	457	49.9	305	33.3	154	16.8	916
Liberal Protestant*	626	58.8	297	27.9	141	13.3	1,064
Anglican	200	58.3	107	31.2	36	10.5	343
Lutheran	131	42.8	129	42.2	46	15.0	306
Eastern Orthodox	30	45.7	20	31.7	13	20.6	63
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,444	53.6	858	31.9	390	14.5	2,692

\* United, Methodist, Presbyterian

Chi-square = 42.300      df = 8       $p < .001$

Corrected for contingency  
C = .124

The data in Table V - 6 show a relationship between anomie scores and denominational affiliation. Liberal Protestant and Anglican respondents were characterized by considerably lower anomie scores than were members of other denominations -- 58.8%



and 58.3% respectively scored "low" (0 or 1), and 13.3% and 10.5% respectively scored "high" (4 or 5) whereas for all denominations the average proportions scoring low and high were 53.6% and 14.5%. The largest degree of anomie was found among Eastern Orthodox respondents, with just 45.7% scoring low, and 20.6% scoring high. Roman Catholics were characterized by a slightly lower level of anomie than were Lutherans in that 49.9% scored "low" as compared to 42.8% of the Lutherans.

The third item to test for differences among denominations was the Protestant Ethic Scale. Table V - 7 gives the distribution of Protestant Ethic scores obtained by members of each denomination.



TABLE V - 7

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF  
MEMBERS OF DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION

<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>Low(3-7)</u>		<u>Medium(8-13)</u>		<u>High(14-18)</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	198	22.6	616	70.3	62	7.1	876
Liberal Protestant*	190	18.8	768	75.9	54	5.3	1,012
Anglican	51	15.6	257	78.6	19	5.8	327
Lutheran	60	20.3	214	72.5	21	7.1	295
Eastern Orthodox	12	20.3	43	72.9	4	6.8	59
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	511	19.9	1,898	73.9	160	6.2	2,569

\* United, Methodist, Presbyterian

Chi-square = 12.843      df = 8      p < .20

Corrected for contingency  
C = .071

It is evident from Table V - 7 that endorsement of the Protestant Ethic did not differ significantly among denominations. Almost three-quarters of the total sample scored in the middle range of the scale, while about 20% scored "low" and about 6% scored "high". This finding, although inconsistent with the findings of the thesis to this point, does coincide with Lenski's research on the Detroit area.<sup>3</sup>

Tables V - 5, V - 6, and V - 7 indicate that there





were significant differences among denominations with respect to the values that affect the lives of their adherents, although at least one value traditionally associated with Protestantism has lost its importance as a distinguishing characteristic. Hypothesis 2a states:

With social class held constant  
there will be no significant  
differences among denominations  
with respect to value-preferences.

In order to determine whether the differences observed were a product of differential denominational affiliation per se, or whether they were a by-product of differential class composition of the different denominations, the socio-economic variables of income, education and occupation were held constant. Tables V - 8 through V - 13 show relationships between the value scales and denominational affiliation within categories of the socio-economic variables. Table V - 8 gives the distribution of the "most important values" of respondents by denominational affiliation, for respondents earning less than \$4,500.00 per year.



TABLE V - 8

DISTRIBUTION OF "MOST IMPORTANT VALUES" OF MEMBERS OF DENOMINATIONS,

### BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS EARNING

LESS THAN \$4,500.00 PER YEAR

Denominational Affiliation	Values												
	Material- ism, Inde- pendence		Health		Personal & Social Respect		Altruism Religion		Justice & Honesty		Family		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Roman Catholic	69	21.8	70	22.2	35	11.0	31	9.7	44	13.9	67	21.2	316
Liberal Protestant*	42	13.1	68	21.3	61	19.1	22	7.0	57	17.8	70	21.9	320
Anglican	18	21.2	9	10.6	7	8.3	14	16.1	19	22.4	18	21.2	85
Lutheran	11	14.3	15	19.5	8	10.4	9	11.7	11	14.3	23	29.9	77
Eastern Orthodox	5	21.7	6	26.1	1	4.3	2	8.6	6	26.1	3	13.0	23
	145	17.7	168	20.5	112	13.6	78	9.5	137	16.7	181	22.0	821

\* United, Methodist, Presbyterian

$$\text{Chi-square} = 38.995 \quad \text{df} = 20$$

Corrected for contingency  
C = .213



It is apparent from Table V - 8 that among respondents earning less than \$4,500.00 per year, there were significant differences among denominations. As was the case for the relationship without income being held constant, Liberal Protestants were less likely than others to endorse the materialistic or independent values (13.1%) while Eastern Orthodox respondents (21.7%), this time along with Roman Catholics (21.8%), were most likely to choose these as their most important values. Anglicans and Lutherans were again medial with respect to their endorsement of these values, although Anglicans within this income bracket were more likely than Anglicans in general to choose these (21.2% vs. 15.0%) and Lutherans in this bracket were less likely than Lutherans in general to do so (14.3% vs. 16.0%). The value of "keeping healthy and fit" was again most strongly endorsed by Eastern Orthodox respondents (26.1%) and was least strongly endorsed by Anglicans (10.6%). The values of personal and social respect, which had been most strongly endorsed by Catholics in the total sample with Liberal Protestants being second, in this segment of the sample were most strongly endorsed by the latter (19.1%) with Catholics being second (11.0%). A difference is evident with respect to Eastern Orthodox respondents in that within this income bracket they were least likely to endorse this value (4.3%) whereas for the total sample they had just been second lowest (12.2%). Anglicans earning less than \$4,500.00 per year were more likely than members of other denominations to name altruistic and religious values as most important (16.1%), as was the case for the sample as a whole. Again Liberal Protestants and Eastern Orthodox respondents were least likely to name these values. Endorsement of



"being a just and honest person" was more clearly differentiated within this income category than it had been for the sample as a whole, with Eastern Orthodox respondents again being most likely to choose it (26.1%) and Lutherans being least likely to do so (14.3%). "Family ties and relationships" was again most weakly endorsed by Eastern Orthodox respondents (13.0%) and most strongly endorsed by Lutheran respondents (29.9%).

Within the higher income categories, \$4,500.00 to \$7,999.99, and \$8,000.00 and over, there were no significant relationships among denominations with respect to value-preferences.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, no statistically significant relationships were found within the educational categories of less than 7 years, 7 to 9 years, 12 years, and some college.<sup>5</sup> The relationship between denominational affiliation and value-preferences for respondents with 10 or 11 years of education is shown in Table V - 9.





TABLE V - 9

# DISTRIBUTION OF "MOST IMPORTANT VALUES" OF

MEMBERS OF DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION,

FOR RESPONDENTS WITH 10 OR 11 YEARS OF EDUCATION

Denominational Affiliation	Values												
	Material- ism, Inde- pendence		Health		Personal & Social Respect		Altruism Religion		Justice & Honesty		Family		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	41	17.5	43	18.4	41	17.5	10	4.2	38	16.2	61	26.1	234
Liberal Protestant*	35	14.5	76	31.4	56	23.1	18	7.4	43	17.8	114	47.1	242
Anglican	14	13.1	19	17.8	17	15.9	10	9.3	16	15.0	31	29.0	107
Lutheran	17	19.8	11	12.8	10	11.7	8	9.3	9	10.5	31	36.0	86
Eastern Orthodox	4	26.7	4	26.7	0	--	1	6.7	4	26.7	2	13.3	15
	111	14.2	153	19.5	124	15.8	47	6.0	110	14.0	239	30.5	784

\*\* United, Methodist, Presbyterian

Chi-square = 71.871	df = 20	p < .001
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Corrected for contingency  
C = .290



From Table V - 9 it is apparent that the patterns of relationships between denominational affiliation and value preferences that occurred without socio-economic controls, continue to be constant within the educational category of 10 or 11 years. Liberal Protestants again were comparatively low on the materialism and independence values (14.5%), and Anglicans (who were second lowest for the total sample) this time were slightly lower than the Liberal Protestants (13.1%). Eastern Orthodox respondents again had a larger proportion than any other denomination endorsing this value (26.7%). Liberal Protestants with 10 or 11 years of education had the largest proportion of any denomination endorsing the value of "keeping healthy and fit" (31.4%) while Eastern Orthodox respondents (who had the largest proportion for the sample as a whole) were close behind (26.7%). Lutherans and Anglicans were again lowest on this value (12.8% and 17.8% respectively). The value of personal and social respect was most strongly endorsed among respondents of this educational level by members of the Liberal Protestant churches (23.1%) and the Roman Catholic church (17.5%) -- in the total sample the Roman Catholics had given the strongest endorsement with the Liberal Protestants being second. As with the total sample, Eastern Orthodox (0%) and Lutherans (11.7%) gave the weakest endorsement of this value. Altruistic and religious values were endorsed by just 6.0% of all respondents at this educational level, with Anglicans (9.3%) again giving the strongest endorsement. Morality, as with the total sample, was most strongly endorsed by Eastern Orthodox respondents (26.7%) and most weakly endorsed by Lutherans (10.5%).



"Family ties and relationships", which in the total sample was strongly endorsed by Lutherans, and secondly by Liberal Protestants, for this educational level was most strongly endorsed by Liberal Protestants (47.1%) followed by Lutherans (36.0%). Eastern Orthodox respondents again gave the weakest endorsement of this value (13.3%).

Controlling for occupation of respondent revealed that there were no significant differences<sup>6</sup> among denominations for those respondents who identified themselves as farmers, or for those whose occupations fell within categories one (professionals and managers) through six (semi-skilled workers) on the Hollingshead Index of Social Position (see Appendix C). Table V - 10 shows the relationship observed between denominational affiliation and value-preferences for respondents whose occupations fell within Hollingshead Category 7 (unskilled workers) or who said that they were not working.





TABLE V - 10

DISTRIBUTION OF "MOST IMPORTANT VALUES" OF MEMBERS OF DENOMINATIONS,

BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS WHOSE OCCUPATIONS FELL INTO

HOLLINGSHEAD CATEGORY 7 OR WHO WERE NOT WORKING

Denominational Affiliation	Values												
	Material- ism, Inde- pendence		Health		Personal & Social Respect		Altruism Religion		Justice & Honesty		Family		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	36	16.5	54	24.8	29	13.3	28	12.8	29	13.3	42	19.3	218
Liberal Protestant*	21	9.7	52	24.1	40	18.5	18	8.3	39	18.1	46	21.3	216
Anglican	13	21.00	10	16.1	5	8.1	7	11.3	5	8.1	22	35.5	62
Lutheran	6	13.3	10	22.2	1	2.2	4	8.9	9	20.0	15	33.3	45
Eastern Orthodox	1	6.3	8	50.0	3	18.8	0	--	2	12.5	2	12.5	16
	<u>77</u>	<u>13.8</u>	<u>134</u>	<u>24.1</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>14.0</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>10.2</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>15.1</u>	<u>127</u>	<u>22.8</u>	<u>557</u>

\* United, Methodist, Presbyterian

Chi-square = 36.642      df = 20      p < .02

Corrected for contingency  
C = .248



The pattern of denominational endorsement of the various values differs somewhat for respondents at this occupational level as compared to the sample as a whole. While Anglicans for the sample as a whole were second lowest in their endorsement of materialism and independence, within this occupational grouping they ranked highest (21.0%). At the other extreme, Eastern Orthodox respondents, who ranked highest for the sample as a whole, for this occupational grouping were less likely than any other denomination to choose this value (6.3%). Endorsement of the value of "keeping healthy and fit" within this category was consistent with the total sample, with Eastern Orthodox respondents being most likely to choose it (50.0%) and Anglicans being least likely to do so (16.1%). The value of personal and social respect was chosen least often by Lutherans within this occupational grouping (2.2%) (consistent with the sample as a whole), but Roman Catholics, who had the highest endorsement for the total sample, were only third highest within this category (13.3%). Liberal Protestants, second for the total sample, were second within this category as well (18.5%). Roman Catholics were more likely than members of any other denomination to choose altruistic and religious values (12.8%) while Anglicans were second (11.3%). (For the total sample Anglicans had been first and Roman Catholics second.) No Eastern Orthodox respondents at this occupational level chose altruistic or religious values (just 5.1% of the total sample had done so). Whereas Lutherans had been least likely of the sample as a whole to endorse morality, within this occupational category they were the most likely (20.0%). Conversely, whereas Eastern Orthodox respondents had been the most likely of the total sample to endorse



this value, at this occupational level they were second from least likely (12.5%). "Family ties and relationships" was endorsed somewhat differently for this occupational category than it was for the total sample in that Lutherans, who had the highest endorsement rate for the total sample, were second at this level (33.3%); Liberal Protestants, who had the second highest endorsement rate for the total sample, were third at this level (21.3%); and Anglicans, who were the third for the total sample, were first at this level (35.5%). Eastern Orthodox respondents, as for the total sample, had the lowest endorsement at this occupational level (12.5%).

Turning to the anomie index, we find that controlling for income showed that there were no significant relationships between anomie and denominational affiliation for respondents earning less than \$4,500.00 per year, or for respondents earning \$8,000.00 or more per year.<sup>7</sup> However the relationship was significant for those in the median income group. Table V - 11 shows the relationships between anomie and denominational affiliation for respondents earning between \$4,500.00 and \$7,999.99 per year.



TABLE V - 11

DISTRIBUTION OF ANOMIE SCORES OF MEMBERS OF DENOMINATIONS,  
BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS EARNING  
\$4,500.00 TO \$7,999.99 PER YEAR

<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Anomie Scores</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>Low (0, 1)</u>		<u>Medium (2, 3)</u>		<u>High (4, 5)</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	155	53.4	93	32.1	42	14.5	290
Liberal Protestant*	235	62.8	92	24.6	47	12.6	374
Anglican	58	53.2	40	36.7	11	10.1	109
Lutheran	41	36.9	54	48.6	16	14.4	111
Eastern Orthodox	6	35.3	5	29.4	6	35.3	17
	<u>495</u>	<u>54.9</u>	<u>284</u>	<u>31.5</u>	<u>122</u>	<u>13.5</u>	<u>901</u>

\* United, Methodist, Presbyterian

Chi-square = 35.071      df = 8      p < .001

Corrected for contingency  
C = .194

It is evident from Table V - 11 that the relationship between anomie and denominational affiliation for respondents earning between \$4,500.00 and \$7,999.99 parallels precisely that found when income was not controlled (Table V - 6). That is, Liberal Protestants and Anglicans were characterized by the lowest level of anomie (lows and highs of 62.8% and 12.5%, and 53.2% and 10.1% respectively), and Eastern Orthodox respondents were characterized by the highest degree





of anomie (35.5% scored low, and a like proportion scored high).

Control for educational level of respondent showed that there were no significant relationships between denominational affiliation and anomie within any of the levels of education.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, among those respondents who reported their occupation as "farmer", no significant relationship was found, as was the case for respondents whose occupations fell within Hollingshead categories 1 - 3, 4, and 6. The relationships were significant, however, for respondents in Hollingshead category 5, and for those in category 7 together with those who reported they were not working. Table V - 12 shows the relationship between anomie and denominational affiliation for respondents from Hollingshead category 5.



TABLE V - 12

DISTRIBUTION OF ANOMIE SCORES OF MEMBERS OF DENOMINATIONS,  
BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS WHOSE OCCUPATIONS  
FALL INTO HOLLINGSHEAD CATEGORY 5

<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Anomie Scores</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>Low (0, 1)</u>		<u>Medium (2, 3)</u>		<u>High (4, 5)</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	71	47.7	52	34.9	26	17.4	149
Liberal Protestant*	99	55.3	48	26.8	32	17.9	179
Anglican	27	45.0	24	40.0	9	15.0	60
Lutheran	17	28.3	35	58.3	8	13.3	60
Eastern Orthodox	5	50.0	3	30.0	2	20.0	10
	219	47.8	162	35.4	77	16.8	458

\* United, Methodist, Presbyterian

Chi-square = 20.728      df = 8      p < .01

Corrected for contingency  
C = .043

Table V - 12 shows that the relationship between anomie and denominational affiliation that was observed with no socio-economic controls, is paralleled by the relationship that occurs within the occupational category of Hollingshead 5. The lowest degree of anomie is found among Liberal Protestant of whom 55.3% scored "low" and 17.9% scored "high". At this occupational level both Roman Catholics and Anglicans tend to have low scores with almost half (47.7%) scoring "low", and 17.4% scoring "high" among the Catholics while 45.0% were in the "low" category and 15.0% in the "high" category among the



Anglicans. A majority of Lutheran respondents (58.3%) scored in the medium range, and Eastern Orthodox respondents again had the largest proportion in the "high" category (20.0%).

Table V - 13 shows the relationship between anomie and denominational affiliation for respondents whose occupations fell into Hollingshead category 7, or who reported that they were not working.

TABLE V - 13  
DISTRIBUTION OF ANOMIE SCORES OF MEMBERS OF DENOMINATIONS,  
BY AFFILIATION FOR RESPONDENTS WHOSE OCCUPATIONS  
FELL INTO HOLLINGSHEAD CATEGORY 7 OR WHO WERE NOT WORKING

<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Anomie Scores</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>Low (0, 1)</u>		<u>Medium (2, 3)</u>		<u>High (4, 5)</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	76	34.5	92	41.8	52	23.6	220
Liberal Protestant*	106	50.0	62	29.2	44	20.8	212
Anglican	26	40.0	29	44.6	10	15.4	65
Lutheran	18	40.0	13	28.9	14	31.1	45
Eastern Orthodox	9	50.0	6	33.3	3	16.7	18
	<u>235</u>	<u>42.0</u>	<u>202</u>	<u>36.1</u>	<u>123</u>	<u>22.0</u>	<u>560</u>

\* United, Methodist, Presbyterian

Chi-square = 16.744      df = 8      p < .05

Corrected for contingency  
C = .029

It is evident from Table V - 13 that the relationship between anomie and denominational affiliation differs slightly for respondents whose occupations fall into Hollingshead category 7,





or who were not working, from that of the total sample. The lowest degree of anomie is found among Eastern Orthodox respondents among whom 50.0% scored "low" and just 16.7% scored "high". For the total sample, Eastern Orthodox respondents had shown the highest degree of anomie. The second lowest degree of anomie at this occupational level was found among Liberal Protestants (50.0% scored "low" and just 20.8% scored "high"). Members of these denominations had shown the lowest degree of anomie when social class was not controlled. The highest degree of anomie at this level of occupation was found among Lutheran respondents, 31.1% of whom scored "high" and 40.0% of whom scored "low". For the total sample, Lutherans had shown the second highest degree of anomie. Roman Catholics at this level (34.5% "low" and 23.6% "high") were characterized by a slightly higher degree of anomie than were Anglican respondents (40.0% "low" and 15.4% "high").

Table V - 5 showed that there were significant relationships between denominational affiliation and value-preferences of respondents. Tables V - 3 through V - 10 showed that these, or similar, relationships obtained in three of the fourteen controlled social class categories. Liberal Protestants endorsed relatively strongly the values of family ties and relationships, and personal and social respect; they did not place much importance on materialism and independence, or altruism and religion. Roman Catholics valued materialism and independence, but were consistently under the average for the total sample in their endorsement of family ties and relationships. Anglicans placed a relatively high value on altruism and religion, and did not value highly either health, or personal and



social respect. Lutheran respondents valued family ties and relationships highly, and placed relatively little importance on health, and on personal and social respect. Eastern Orthodox respondents valued highly materialism and independence, health, and justice and honesty, and placed relatively little value on family ties and relationships, and altruism and religion.

Table V - 6 showed that there was a significant relationship between denominational affiliation and anomie. Tables V - 11 through V - 13 showed that this relationship, or a similar one, was still evident in three of the fourteen controlled social class categories. Liberal Protestants and Anglicans generally showed a low level of anomie -- lower than respondents from all other denominations for the overall sample, as well as for the controlled categories with the exception of the lowest occupational level. Roman Catholics and Lutherans were generally medial on the anomie scale. Eastern Orthodox respondents were highest in anomie for the total sample, but lowest in anomie among those whose occupations fell into Hollingshead Category 7 or who said that they were not working.

Table V - 7 showed that there was not a significant relationship between the Protestant Ethic and denominational affiliation. When social class was held constant, the same result was evident for all fourteen controlled categories.<sup>9</sup>

The final hypothesis to be tested in this thesis predicted the nature of the predominant value system of denominational adherents.



Hypothesis 2b. Materialism and pragmatic values will be more strongly endorsed than religious and moral values by adherents of all denominations.

Table V - 14 shows the distribution of the most important values of all denominational members.

TABLE V - 14

DISTRIBUTION OF CHOICES OF "MOST IMPORTANT VALUE"

BY MEMBERS OF DENOMINATIONS

Values

Ego-centric,  
Materialistic,  
and Pragmatic

	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Materialism and Independence	5	356	13.4
Keeping Healthy and Fit	2	514	19.0
Personal and Social Respect	4	397	15.0
		<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL		1,267	47.8

Altruistic,  
Religious,  
and Moral

Altruism and Religion	6	220	8.4
Being Just and Honest	3	413	15.5
Family Ties and Relationships	1	748	28.3
		<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL		1,381	52.2





It is evident from Table V - 14 that the ego-centric, materialistic and pragmatic values were not more strongly endorsed by members of denominations than were the altruistic, religious and moral values, when family ties and relationships are classed as altruistic. However, interpretation of "family ties and relationships" as altruistic might be questioned by some in that the family is normally the center of substantial ego-involvement. If this value is classed as ego-centric, the data indicate that in fact a substantial majority of Alberta residents (76.1%) endorse an ego-centric, materialistic and pragmatic value-system. For purposes of this thesis, however, family ties and relationships are interpreted as involving an altruistic commitment of self as opposed to a more self-centered egotistic involvement, and thus hypothesis 2b is refuted by the data.

### Summary

Analysis of the census data utilized in this thesis has shown that the hypothesized trend away from affiliation with fundamentalistic sects has not occurred over the past three decades. The Survey data showed that although there was a significant relationship between rural versus urban residence and affiliation with a sect, a denomination or no (or non-Christian) affiliation, these data did not support the specific hypothesis that sect affiliation would be significantly greater among rural respondents, but rather showed that there has been a trend away from religious affiliation among urban respondents. There was not a statistically significant relationship between age of respondents and sect affiliation, as hypothesized, but sect affiliation was inversely related to generation of residence





in Canada of the respondent.

The hypothesized relationship between denominational affiliation and value-preference did occur when socio-economic variables were not held constant, as did the relationship between denomination and anomie. Denominational affiliation was not significantly related to endorsement of the Protestant Ethic. With social class held constant, the relationship between value-preference and denominational affiliation was found to be significant among respondents with a low income, 10 or 11 years of education, and whose occupations fell into Hollingshead Category 7 or who were not working. Anomie was significantly related to denominational affiliation among respondents from the middle income bracket, and whose occupations fell into Hollingshead categories 5 and 7 (or who were not working).

The values chosen by members of the sample indicated that the ego-centric, materialistic and pragmatic value-system which, according to writers such as Herberg and Cox, has come to dominate the lives of Americans, is not the salient value-system of the majority of Alberta residents.

A discussion of the pattern of findings in the context of the theoretical material we have reviewed, and the current social characteristics of the population of Alberta, is found in the final chapter.



FOOTNOTES

1. See Appendix B, questionnaire item 86.
2. The ten original items were collapsed into six categories for purposes of analysis. Items (a) and (j) - "making money and buying things", and "being independent and one's own boss" were included in the category of "materialism and independence"; item (b) -- "keeping healthy and fit" -- was left by itself; items (f) and (g) -- "being liked and respected by others" and "being highly skilled in what I do" were combined into the category of "personal and social respect"; items (b), (c) and (e) -- "doing things for other people", "politics and community affairs", and "religious activities" -- were combined as "altruism and religion"; and items (h) and (i) -- "being a just and honest person" and "family ties and relationships" were left as individual categories.
3. See Chapter III, note 148.
4. See Appendix D, Tables D - 1 and D - 2.
5. See Appendix D, Tables D - 3 through D - 6.
6. See Appendix D, Tables D - 7 through D - 11.
7. See Appendix D, Tables D - 12 and D - 13.
8. See Appendix D, Tables D - 14 through D - 17.
9. See Appendix D, Tables D - 18 through D - 31.



## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY, INTERPRETATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

#### A. Summary

A trend away from fundamentalistic sect-type religion towards a this-worldly denominationalism has been well documented in the United States, as has the development of an essentially pragmatic and profane value system. This thesis has studied the patterns of religious affiliation in Alberta over the past thirty-five years, and the salient values of Alberta residents at present, to determine whether Alberta is participant in these trends -- or whether it remains, as many still believe, a Bible Belt.

Any society, if it is to continue to exist, must have an over-arching system of beliefs and values that unites its members. Historically in the Western Hemisphere Christianity has supplied the normative and existential guidelines necessary to achieve this end. However, in a complex, highly specialized society, religion tends to become one of several specialized institutions, each of which contributes to the weltanschauung of the members. In such a society all institutions become secularized as man is forced, by science, technology, industrialization and bureaucratization, to think in empirical and pragmatic terms. Religion finds it necessary, to remain relevant, to look to other institutions





for concepts applicable to the modern world -- hence it becomes a follower instead of a leader in the process of "world-building".<sup>1</sup>

There is little doubt that the world-view of a substantial proportion of Alberta residents in the 1930's were based primarily on fundamentalistic Christianity. The importance of this world view today is the subject of this thesis.

### Alberta

The Province of Alberta has had an unusual history economically, politically and religiously. All three of these institutions and their development have been inter-related. Over-rapid settlement, political isolation, and economic hardship produced a highly unstable social structure in the late 1920's and early 1930's. Traditional religious organizations did not fill the needs of the people, and their strength rapidly declined. Politically-oriented farmers' movements, ostensibly secular, became increasingly popular and provided a source of unity and meaning to Alberta residents. But these movements were unable to provide a complete weltanschauung. Fundamentalistic religion, largely through the efforts of radio evangelists such as William Aberhart gained large followings. Once established as a popular evangelist, Aberhart was persuaded to enter the political arena, with the result that his religious followers became the base of his political support. His capable espousal of Social Credit doctrine gained him political followers, some of whom in turn became supporters of his religious movement. Aberhart thus became a symbol to the people of Alberta of a total and meaningful involvement in the forces affecting their



lives in that his appeal was both political and religious: this-worldly and other-worldly. A religious world-view thus became pervasive throughout the province. The extent to which religious thought-ways are still central to the world-view of Albertans is the concern of this thesis.

### Theory

The concepts of denomination and sect are central to the study of religious organizations. The basis of the distinction between them, initially theological, has become more properly sociological. Sects reject the dominant values of the society in which they exist, while denominations accept and support the prevailing value system. The first series of hypotheses tested in this thesis was as follows:

1. A smaller proportion of Alberta residents are currently affiliated with fundamental sects than were so affiliated 30 years ago.
  - 1a. Affiliation with fundamentalistic sects will be significantly greater among rural than among urban respondents.
  - 1b. Sect affiliation will vary directly with age of respondent.
  - 1c. Sect affiliation will vary inversely with generation of Canadian residence of respondent.

A function of religion in any society is to certify the sacredness of certain aspects of that society. The dominant value system in America, at least implicitly sanctified by religious denominations, has been described as the "American Way of Life" or the "idealized middle-class ethos".<sup>2</sup> This value system is essentially ego-centric, pragmatic and materialistic. Religious conversion has



come to imply conversion to this ethic, regardless of the denominational label that is obtained in the process. In the light of this well established value system in America, the following hypotheses were tested:

2. When social class is not controlled there will be significant differences among denominations with respect to the value-preferences of adherents as reflected in religious, materialistic, anomie and Protestant Ethic indices.
- 2a. When social class is held constant there will be no significant differences among denominations with respect to value-preferences.
- 2b. Materialistic and pragmatic values will be more strongly endorsed than religious and moral values by adherents of all denominations.

### Methodology

The data used for this thesis were obtained from Census and Taxation Statistics, and from a survey conducted by the Government of Alberta. The survey sample of 4,150 was fairly representative of the population of Alberta in terms of age, sex, socio-economic status and identified religious groups. It was slightly under-representative of males, of rural respondents, those in low income categories and those with only an elementary education. It was substantially over-representative of respondents of no, or non-Christian, religious affiliation.

The survey data were taken from a large interview schedule which was administered to the respondents by trained interviewers. Cross-tabulations of variables were tested for statistical significance with chi-square, the critical value being defined as





.05. The statistic C was computed as a measure of the association between variables.

### Findings

Of the seven hypotheses tested, five were not supported by the data. Analysis of census data showed that there has not been a trend away from fundamentalistic religion in Alberta over the past 35 years. Survey data revealed that sect membership was not more characteristic of rural residents than of urban residents, although among urban residents a trend away from organized religion was evident. Age of respondent was unrelated to sect membership. However, recent immigrants (first generation of Canadian residence) were more likely to belong to sects than were other Albertans, as predicted by the hypothesis, though the correlation was low ( $C = .059$ ).

The values held to be most important differed among denominations when social class was not controlled, as predicted. However, contrary to the hypothesis, a similar pattern of differences was also found within each of a limited number of socio-economic categories. Liberal Protestants (United, Methodist and Presbyterian) endorsed the values of family ties and relationships, and personal and social respect, more strongly than did other respondents. Members of these denominations were relatively low in their endorsement of materialism and independence, and altruism and religion. Conversely, Roman Catholics valued materialism and independence highly, and did not value family ties and relationships to as great a degree as did the sample as a whole. Anglicans placed stronger





emphasis on altruism and religion than did other respondents, and placed a relatively weak emphasis on health, and on personal and social respect. Lutherans valued family ties and relationships, but similar to the Anglicans did not strongly endorse health, and personal and social respect. Eastern Orthodox respondents placed relatively high value on materialism and independence, health, and justice and honesty; they endorsed family ties and relationships, and altruism and religion less strongly than other respondents.

The degree of anomie differed among different denominations both when social class was not controlled, as predicted, and within certain socio-economic categories, contrary to prediction. Liberal Protestants and Anglicans consistently showed a lower level of anomie than did other respondents; Roman Catholics and Lutherans were medial with respect to other denominations; and Eastern Orthodox respondents scored highly for the overall sample but lower class Eastern Orthodox members were lowest of all denominations in anomie.

In summary, three of the six cross-tabulations concerning denominational affiliation, and value-preferences and anomie, showed differences among lower class respondents, and two of the six cross-tabulations showed differences among lower-middle class respondents. Endorsement of the Protestant Ethic did not differ among denominations either with or without social class controls.

Unambiguous conclusions about the predominant value-system of Alberta residents affiliated with denominations was difficult because of the ambiguous nature of the value "family ties and



relationships". When this value was classified as altruistic, the salient value-system did not prove to be essentially ego-centric, pragmatic and materialistic; when it was classified as ego-centric, this finding was reversed.

In summary, the data analyzed for this thesis showed that there has not been a shift from fundamentalism to denominationalism; that sect affiliation is not associated with age or rural residence (although among urban respondents there was some tendency to leave organized religion altogether); that sect affiliation was inversely related to generation of Canadian residence; that denominational affiliation was important with respect to the values chosen as most important; and that the idealized middle-class ethos (emphasizing secularized, materialistic values) is not the salient value-system of the majority of Alberta residents. It shows further that there are no differences among the value preferences of middle and upper class respondents of all denominations but that differences associated with denominational affiliation do occur among lower class respondents.

## B. Interpretations

The findings reported in this thesis suggest that Alberta is resistant to some of the general trends evident in American Society. We have found that the proportion of the population of Alberta affiliated with fundamentalistic sects has not changed appreciably since 1931, and Chapter II pointed out that fundamentalism was a major social force at that time -- not specifically in terms of numbers, but rather in terms of the power base it pro-



vided for the establishment of a political movement. Given that the proportion of the population of Alberta affiliated with sects has remained unchanged, it is possible that the world-view of this minority is still pervasive beyond what its numerical strength would indicate. However, since 1931 the population of Alberta has shifted from being predominantly rural to being predominantly urban -- a factor which implies that the social base of the Social Credit - fundamentalist complex has been altered. That is, although as large a proportion of Albertans still identify themselves as members of sects as did so in 1931, many of these respondents are now urbanites. Whether this means that the basis of appeal has changed or not we do not know since we did not consider this aspect in our study of contemporary sects. However, there is indication that the Social Credit Party is changing its "image", and presumably its appeal,<sup>3</sup> which might be taken to imply that the rural-fundamentalist basis of support is no longer seen as adequate.

We found that age of respondents was not related to sect affiliation, which implies that fundamentalist groups still have a substantial appeal for the young people. The relationship between generation of residence in Canada and sect affiliation implies that people who have lived here all their lives are less likely to belong to sects, but that recent arrivals still seek the primary involvement provided by this mode of religious organization. Analysis of the salient value system of Albertans showed that religion continues to play an important part in terms of "world-building" among established residents -- adherents of different denominations differed with respect to what they considered as most





important to them.

Scrutiny of the values chosen by each denomination indicates that traditional emphases of these groups has altered. That is, it is traditionally held that Protestantism inculcates the values of independence, and of the acquisition of material wealth as a means of moral justification (as a sign of "grace"). In Alberta Liberal Protestants valued independence and materialism less than did more conservative Protestants, who in turn valued them less than did Roman Catholics. The family -- traditionally a very important value to Roman Catholics was more highly valued by Liberal Protestants than by Catholics. These findings, which apply to the majority of Alberta residents, suggest that other than religious forces are important in their lives. A possible interpretation is that among Protestants a reaction to the traditional forces of individualism is setting in in the form of a quest for community,<sup>4</sup> and the family (in which the breakdown of traditional forms has become most obvious) has become the focus of this quest. Among the Roman Catholics the increased emphasis on independence and materialism might be understood as a breaking down of the traditional values -- a secularization of their operative value-system.

The controls for socio-economic variables showed that religion was unimportant for most segments of society, but that within a segment towards the lower end of the socio-economic scale it remained important. Although these tests were run only for denominations, it appears that the type of involvement in religion is characteristic of the lower strata regardless of whether that involvement is with a sect or a denomination. That is, where status anxiety



is greatest, individuals tend to become more totally involved in those institutions capable of providing existential justification for their position. Doctrinal orthodoxy become the accepted pattern of religious involvement only among those who are secure in their socio-economic position; where this security is lacking a devotional orientation prevails.<sup>5</sup>

The findings of this thesis suggest that rather than religion and socio-economic status being independent variables, in the sense that one or the other is the source of one's operative value system, they are interactive variables, in the sense that within lower socio-economic strata religion becomes important whereas within other strata it becomes unimportant. This interpretation is consistent with the ideas expressed by Herberg and Cox concerning the development of an all-pervasive middle-class ethos: among respondents who are firmly established as middle-class, there is a homogenization of values, and these values are pragmatic and profane; among respondents who are not middle-class, or whose status as middle-class is insecure, traditional religious teachings remain important.

### C. Suggestions For Further Research

This thesis has outlined some general relationships concerning socio-economic variables and religious affiliation. An important area not dealt with is that of degree of commitment. The data suggest that there is a relationship between social class and religious commitment, but clearly this conclusion is highly speculative at this point. It is worthy of further consideration.

A second area that might well be studied is the nature of the appeal of Social Credit today -- its target group.



Given that since its inception, radio evangelism has served as a means of gaining political support at least indirectly (numerous party officials have been guest speakers on Manning's religious broadcasts), a content analysis of "Back to the Bible Hour" programs over the past thirty years might prove informative in terms of the political implications.

More work needs to be done on the nature of the "institutionalized sect". This thesis has accepted the very general works done to date, and categorized religions accordingly. However, the operative values of members of institutionalized sects have never been specifically studied. It is reported that these movements have made structural modifications, but that changes in morality among them has been much slower.<sup>6</sup> Some of the structural changes that have occurred, such as formalized procedures, larger buildings, professional clergy point very strongly to a middle-class orientation. Whether these changes have come about through internalization of these values, or through increasing mental compartmentalization is as yet unknown.



FOOTNOTES

1. See Chapter III, note 16
2. See Chapter III, note 145
3. The changing political climate in Alberta is shown for example, by the very strong emphasis on Human Resources Development. The initial evidence of this came with the publication of the Provincial White Paper on Human Resources in 1967, and shortly thereafter with the publication of former Premier Manning's book Political Realignment: A Challenge to Thoughtful Canadians. Out of this book arose the Social Conservative Society -- a "non-political" group (they state firmly that they do not intend to run candidates but only to suggest policy) -- dedicated to the furtherance of the philosophy stated in the book.
4. See Chapter III, note 57
5. See Chapter III, note 98
6. See Chapter III, pp. 54 - 58, "The Dilemma of Sects".





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## APPENDIX A

### CLASSIFICATION OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS





CLASSIFICATION<sup>1</sup> OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS, 1931\*

SECTS

Adventist	4,213
Apostolic Brethren	114
Baptist	30,496
Believers	2
Brethren	1,192
Catholic Apostolic	2
Christadelphians	136
Christians	2,315
Christian Alliance	168
Christian Science	2,075
Church of Christ	
Disciples	1,251
Church of God (New	
Dunker)	943
Doukhobours	786
Dutch Church	525
Evangelical Association	2,133
Followers of Christ	141
Gospel People	287
Holiness Movement	252
Independents	25
International Bible	
Students Association	1,252
Mennonites	8,289
Mission	493
Moravian	1,448
Mormon	13,185
New Thought	5
Non-Conformist	64
Nondenominational	285
Pentecostal	3,655
Protestants	1,931
Reformed Church	776
Reformed Episcopal	15
Saints	11
Salvation Army	2,024
Spiritualists	197
Swedenborgians	60
Theosophists	49
Truth	27
United Brethren	124
Other Sects	312

---

39 Sects 81,784

DENOMINATIONS

Anglican	112,979
Friends	200
Greek Orthodox	26,427
Jewish	3,663
Lutheran	82,411
Methodist	566
Presbyterian	72,069
Roman Catholic	168,408
Unitarian	294
United Church	176,816
Universalist	31

---

11 Denominations 643,864

OTHER

Buddhist	366
Confucian	1,728
Mohammedan	126
No Religion	2,188
Pagans	496
Shinto	1
Sikhs & Hindus	27
Not Stated	1,023

---

5,955

N = 731,605

\*Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada 1931, Volume II - Population by Areas, Table 38 "Total Population classified according to religious denominations, by Province" 1931, pp. 508-509.



CLASSIFICATION<sup>1</sup> OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS, 1961\*

<u>SECTS</u>		<u>OTHER</u>	
Adventist	5,187	Buddhist	1,987
Baptist	42,430	Confucian	538
Brethren in Christ	1,032	Other	37,584
Christian and Missionary Alliance	4,496		
Christian Science	1,783		40,109
Churches of Christ, Disciples	2,688		
Church of the Nazarene	5,127		
Doukhobour	800	N = 1,331,994	
Evangelical United Brethren	6,161		
Free Methodists	453		
Jehovah's Witness	7,523		
Mennonite	16,269		
Mormon	25,537		
Pentecostal	15,112		
Plymouth Brethren	685		
Salvation Army	3,319		
	138,602		

DENOMINATIONS

Anglican	156,630
Christian Reformed	11,152
Greek Orthodox	47,353
Jewish	6,045
Lutheran	122,520
Presbyterian	55,337
Roman Catholic	298,741
Ukrainian Greek Orthodox	35,260
Unitarian	1,268
United	418,927
	1,153,233

\*Source: Dominion Bureau of  
Statistics, Census of Canada  
1961, Bulletin 1.2-6, Table 42  
"Population by religious  
denomination and sex for  
provinces and territories 1961",  
pp. 42-1,2



FOOTNOTES

1. The classification used here is based upon W. E. Mann, Sect Cult and Church in Alberta, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1955. Mann explicitly identifies all groups included as sects for 1961, and all those for 1931 with the exception of the following:

Believers	2
Catholic Apostolic	2
Dutch Church	525
Followers of Christ	141
Nonconformist	64
Nondenominational	285
Reformed Church	776
Reformed Episcopal	15
Saints	11

---

1,821

The size of these bodies, and in some cases the names, clearly imply that they were sects, and thus they have been so categorized. The number of unidentified persons so included amounts to just over 2.0% of the total membership of all sects in 1931.





APPENDIX B  
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS



INTERVIEW QUESTIONSQuestion Number

2. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_

4. Where were you born? (City, Province, Country) \_\_\_\_\_

5. Where was your father born? (City, Province, Country) \_\_\_\_\_

6. Where was your mother born? (City, Province, Country) \_\_\_\_\_

Where were your grandfathers born? (City, Province, Country)

7. Paternal Grandfather? \_\_\_\_\_

8. Maternal Grandfather? \_\_\_\_\_

9. What was the last grade you completed in school? \_\_\_\_\_

University? \_\_\_\_\_

21. Including all regular sources, about how much would you say your total income (cash) came to in 1966? (including income from spouse) \$ \_\_\_\_\_

22. What kind of work do you do? (Not where you work, but what job you do) \_\_\_\_\_

30. What is your mate's occupation? (Give specific description)  
- (not where he works but what he does) \_\_\_\_\_

56. Are you a member of a church or do you attend a church?

If so, what church do you belong to or attend? \_\_\_\_\_



86. Think of things that are most important to you. Which three things on this card are the most important to you in the long run? (Hand R card).

- (a) making money and buying things \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) doing things for other people \_\_\_\_\_
- (c) keeping healthy and fit \_\_\_\_\_
- (d) politics and community affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- (e) religious activities \_\_\_\_\_
- (f) being liked and respected by others \_\_\_\_\_
- (g) being highly skilled in what I do \_\_\_\_\_
- (h) being a just and honest person \_\_\_\_\_
- (i) family ties and relationships \_\_\_\_\_
- (j) being independent and one's own boss \_\_\_\_\_

If you had to decide, which one of these three is most important to you? \_\_\_\_\_

Here are some statements which some people agree with and some people disagree with. How do you feel about each one?

YES      NO

- |      |       |       |   |
|------|-------|-------|---|
| 106. | _____ | _____ | Nowadays, a person has to live pretty much for today, and let tomorrow take care of itself.                                     |
| 107. | _____ | _____ | In spite of what some people say, the life of the average man is getting worse, not better.                                     |
| 108. | _____ | _____ | It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.                                      |
| 109. | _____ | _____ | There's little use in writing to government officials because they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man. |
| 110. | _____ | _____ | These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count upon.   |



112. Would you say that it is all right for a man to take off from work now and then if there is something else he would rather do?

YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

How strongly do you feel about this?

Very strongly \_\_\_\_ fairly strongly \_\_\_\_ not too strongly \_\_\_\_

113. Would you say that most people spend too much time working and not enough time enjoying life?

YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

How strongly do you feel about this?

Very strongly \_\_\_\_ fairly strongly \_\_\_\_ not too strongly \_\_\_\_

114. If you had a choice of taking a paid vacation or working during that time and getting paid extra, would you take the vacation?

YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

How strongly do you feel about that?

Very strongly \_\_\_\_ fairly strongly \_\_\_\_ not too strongly \_\_\_\_





EVALUATION

Date of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_ Location: \_\_\_\_\_

Place: \_\_\_\_\_ Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Kitchen, barn, etc.)

Did the respondent have any trouble understanding you or vice versa?

\_\_\_\_\_

How good was rapport? \_\_\_\_\_

How highly motivated was the respondent to participate in the  
 interview: beginning \_\_\_\_\_ middle \_\_\_\_\_ end \_\_\_\_\_

Could you easily go back to this person and get more information?

\_\_\_\_\_

What kinds of interruptions occurred, and how long did they last?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Was the spouse present? \_\_\_\_\_ Did he (she) influence R? \_\_\_\_\_

How would you evaluate or describe the interview, in general terms?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



APPENDIX C

HOLLINGSHEAD INDEX OF SOCIAL POSITION



INDEX OF SOCIAL POSITION

A.B. Hollingshead - Yale University

SEVEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITIONS

1. Higher Executives of Large Concerns, Proprietors and Major Professionals

- a. High Executives: (Value of corporation \$500,000 and above as rated by Dunn and Bradstreet).

Bank Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Assistant Vice-Presidents  
Businesses - Directors, Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Assistant  
Vice-Presidents, Executive Secretaries, Research  
Directors, Treasurers  
High School Principals and School Superintendents.

- b. Proprietors: (Value over \$125,000 by Dunn and Bradstreet).

Brokers      Contractors      Dairy Owners      Farmers      Lumber Dealers

- c. Major Professionals:

Accountants (C.P.A.)  
Actuaries  
Agronomists  
Architects  
Artists, Portrait  
Astronomers  
Auditors  
Bacteriologists  
Chemical Engineers  
Chemists  
Clergymen (Professionally  
Trained)  
Dentists  
Economists  
Editors of Newspapers  
Engineers (College Graduates)  
Foresters  
Geologists  
Judges (Superior Courts)  
Lawyers  
Metallurgists

Military, Comm. Officers -  
Major and above, Officials  
of the Executive Branch of  
Government, Federal, State,  
Local, e.g. Mayor, City  
Manager, City Plan Director,  
Internal Revenue Directors  
Nutritionist (with PH.D)  
Physicians  
Physicists, Research  
Psychologists, Practicing  
Symphony Conductor  
Teachers - University, College  
Veterinarians (Veterinary  
Surgeons)





2. Business Managers, Proprietors of Medium Sized Businesses, and Lesser Professionals

a. Business Managers in Large Concerns (Value \$500,000 plus)

Advertising Directors	Office Managers
Branch Managers	Personnel Managers
Brokerage Salesmen	Police Chief: Sheriff
Directors of Purchasing	Postmaster
District Managers	Production Managers
Executive Assistants	Publicity Director for
Assistant Editors	University
Gov't. Officials, minor, e.g.	Sales Engineers
Internal Revenue Agents, D.A.	Sales Managers, National
Farm Managers	Concerns
Manufacturer's Representatives	Store Managers

b. Proprietors of Medium Businesses (Value \$50,000 - \$125,000)

Advertising	Farm Owners
Clothing Store	Poultry Business
Contractors	Real Estate Brokers
Express Company	Rug Business
Fruits, Wholesale	Theatre
Furniture Business	Hardware Store
Jewelers	

c. Lesser Professionals

Accountants (not C.P.A.)	Musicians (Symphony Orchestra)
Chiropodists	Nurses
Correction Officers	Opticians
Director of Community House	Pharmacists
Engineers (not College Grad)	Program Directors, radio & TV
Finance Writers	Public Health Officers (M.P.H.)
Health Educators	Research Assistants, Univ.
Labour Relations Consultants	(full time)
Librarians	Social Workers
Military Comm. Officers - Lts.,	Teachers, Elementary & High
Captains	School

3. Administrative Personnel, Owners Small Businesses, and Minor Professionals

a. Administrative Personnel

Advertising Agents	Sales Representatives & Sales-
Chief Clerks	men of heavy goods, e.g.
Credit Managers	auto & major electrical
Insurance Agents	appliances
Managers, Departments	Section Heads, Federal, State
Managers, Finance Companies	& Local Gov't. Offices



Passenger Agents - R.R.  
 Private Secretaries  
 Purchasing Agents  
 Traffic Managers  
 Grain Elevators Operator

Section Heads, Large Businesses  
 & Industries  
 Service Managers  
 Shop Managers  
 Store Managers (Chain)

b. Small Business Owners (\$10,000 - \$50,000)

Art Gallery  
 Auto Accessories  
 Awnings  
 Bakery  
 Beauty Shop  
 Boatyard  
 Brokerage, Insurance  
 Car Dealers  
 Cigarette Machines  
 Cleaning Shops  
 Clothing  
 Coal Businesses  
 Contracting Businesses  
 Funeral Directors  
 Furniture  
 Garage  
 Gas Station  
 Glassware  
 Grocery - General  
 Hotel Proprietors  
 Jewelry  
 Machine Brokers  
 Manufacturing  
 Monuments  
 Music  
 Packing Store (liquor)  
 Paint Contracting  
 Plumbing

Convalescent Homes  
 Decorating  
 Dog Supplies  
 Dry Goods  
 Engraving Businesses  
 Food  
 Finance Company, local  
 Fire Extinguishers  
 5¢ and 10¢ Stores  
 Florist  
 Food Equipment  
 Food Products  
 Foundry  
 Poultry  
 Real Estate  
 Records and Radios  
 Restaurants  
 Roofing Contractor  
 Shoes  
 Signs  
 Tavern  
 Taxi Company  
 Tire Shop  
 Trucking  
 Trucks and Tractors  
 Upholstery  
 Wholesale Outlets  
 Window Shades

c. Semi-Professionals

Actors and Showmen  
 Professional Athletes  
 Army M. Sgt., Navy, C.P.O.  
 Artists, Commercial  
 Appraisers (Estimators)  
 Clergymen (not professionally  
 trained)  
 Concern Managers  
 Deputy Sheriffs  
 Interior Decorators  
 Interpreters, Court  
 Laboratory Assistants

Piano Teachers  
 Pilots, not major airlines  
 Publicity and Public Relations  
 Radio, T.V. Announcers and  
 Engineers  
 Reporters, Court  
 Reporters, Newspapers  
 Surveyors  
 Title Searchers  
 Tool Designers  
 Travel Agents  
 Yard Masters, R.R.



Landscape Planners  
 Morticians  
 Oral Hygienists  
 Recreation Therapists  
 Merchant  
 Photographers  
 Physio-therapists

Dispatchers, R.R.  
 Grain Buyer - mechanical  
 engineer  
 Mechanical Engineer

d. Farmers and Ranchers

Farm or Ranch Owners (\$20,000 - \$50,000)

4. Clerical and Sales Workers, Technicians, and Owners of Small Businesses (Value under \$10,000)

a. Clerical and Sales Workers

Bank Clerks and Tellers  
 Bill Collectors  
 Bookkeepers  
 Business Machine Operators,  
 Offices  
 Claims Examiners  
 Clerical or Stenographic  
 Conductors, R.R.  
 Employment Interviewers  
 Factory Storekeepers  
 Factory Supervisors  
 Salesmen  
 Livestock Dealer  
 Stockkeeper

Post Office Clerks  
 Route Managers  
 Sales Clerk, e.g. Sales of  
 sporting goods, light  
 goods, etc.  
 Sergeants and Petty Officer,  
 Military Service  
 Shipping Clerks  
 Supervisors, Utilities,  
 Factories  
 Tour Foreman, Post Office  
 Toll Station, Supervisors  
 Warehouse Clerks  
 Ticket Agents for R.R.

b. Technicians

Dental Technicians  
 Draftsmen  
 Driving Teachers  
 Expeditor, Factory  
 Experimental Tester  
 Instructors, Telephone Co.,  
 Factory  
 Inspectors, Weights, Sanitary  
 Inspector, R.R., Factory  
 Investigators  
 Laboratory Technicians  
 Locomotive Engineers

Operators, P.B.X.  
 Proofreaders  
 Safety Supervisors  
 Supervisors of Maintenance  
 Technical Assistants  
 Telephone Co. Supervisors  
 & P.B.X. Supervisors  
 Timekeepers  
 Tower Operators, R.R.  
 Truck Dispatchers  
 Window Trimmers(Store)  
 Projectionists





c. Owner of Little Businesses (\$5,000 - \$10,000)

Cabinet Shop  
Flower Shop  
Grocery

News Stand  
Tailor Shop

d. Farmers

Owners (\$10,000 - \$20,000)

5. Skilled Manual Employees

Auto Body Repairers  
Bakers  
Blacksmiths  
Boat Captains (private yacht)  
Bookbinders  
Boilermakers  
Brakemen, R.R.  
Brewers  
Bulldozer Operators  
Butchers  
Cabinet Makers  
Cable Splicers  
Carpenters  
Casters (Founders)  
Cement Finishers  
Cheese Makers  
Chefs  
Compositors  
Diemakers  
Diesel Shovel Operators  
Electricians  
Engravers  
Exterminators  
Fitters, Gas, Steam  
Firemen, City  
Firemen, R.R.  
Foreman, Construction, Dairy  
Gardeners Landscape (trained)  
Glass Blowers  
Glaziers  
Apprentice Projectionist  
Repairmen, Home Appliance  
Rope Splicer  
Sheetmetal Workers (trained)  
Shipsmiths  
Shoe Repairmen (trained)  
Stationary Engineers (licensed)  
Stewards, Club  
Switchmen, R.R.  
Tailors (trained)  
Telegraphers  
Gunsmiths

Gauge Makers  
Hair Stylists  
Heat Treaters  
Horticulturists  
Linemen, Utility  
Linotype Operators  
Lithographers  
Locksmiths  
Loom Fixers  
Machinists (trained)  
Maintenance Foremen  
Linoleum Layer (trained)  
Masons  
Masseurs  
Mechanics (trained)  
Milkmen  
Millwrights  
Moulders (trained)  
Painters  
Paperhangers  
Patrolmen, R.R.  
Pattern and Model Makers  
Piano Tuners  
Plumbers  
Policement, City - prison  
guard  
Postmen  
Printers  
Radio, T.V., Maintenance  
Diesel Engine Repair Main-  
tenance (trained)  
Teletype Operators  
Tool Makers  
Track Supervisors, R.R.  
Tractor-Trailer Trans.  
Typographers  
Upholsters (trained)  
Watchmakers  
Weavers  
Welders  
Yard Supervisors, R.R.





Small Farmers

Owners (under \$10,000)

6. Machine Operators and Semi-Skilled Employees

Aides, Hospital	Pressers, Clothing
Apprentices-Electricians, Printers	Pump Operators
Steam Fitters, Toolmakers	Receivers and Checkers
Assembly Line Workers	Roofers
Bartenders	Roller Skating Instructors
Bingo Tenders	Set-up-men, Factories
Bridge Tenders	Shapers
Building Superintendents (Cust.)	Signalmen, R.R.
Bus Drivers	Solderers, Factory
Chauffers	Sprayers, Paint
Checkers	Steelworkers (not skilled)
Coin Machine Fillers	Stranders, Wire Machines
Cooks, Short Order	Strippers, Rubber Factory
Delivery Man	Taxi Drivers
Dressmakers, Machine	Testers
Elevator Operators	Timers
Enlisted Men, Military Services	Tire Moulders
Filers, Benders, Buffers	Trainmen, R.R.
Foundry Workers	Truck Drivers, General
Garage and Gas Station Assistants	Waiters, Waitresses (Better
(Service Station Attendants)	Places)
Greenhouse Workers	Weighers
Guards, Doorkeepers, Watchmen	Welders, Spot
Hairdressers	Winders, Machine
Housekeepers	Wiredrawers, Machine
Meat Cutters and Packers	Wine Bottlers
Meter Readers	Wood Workers, Machine
Operators, Factory Machines	Section Man, R.R.
Oilers, R.R.	Wrappers, Stores and Factories
Practical Nurses	

Farmers

Small Tenants who own little equipment

7. Unskilled Employees

Amusement Park Workers (Bowling	Laborers, Construction
Alleys, Pool Rooms, Life Guards)	Laborers, Unspecified
Ash Removers	Laundry Workers
Attendants, Parking Lots	Messengers
Cafeteria Workers	Platform Men, R.R.
Car Cleaners, R.R.	Peddlers
Carriers, Coal	Porters
Countrymen	Roofer's Helpers
Dairy Workers	Shirt Folders



Deck Hands  
 Domestics  
 Farm Helpers  
 Fishermen (Clam Diggers)  
 Freight Handlers  
 Garbage Collectors  
 Grave Diggers  
 Grocery Boy  
 Hog Carriers  
 Hog Killers  
 Hospital Workers, Unspecified  
 Hostlers, R.R.  
 Janitors (Sweepers)

Relief, Public, Private  
 Unemployed (no occupation)

Farmers: Share Croppers

Shoe Shiners  
 Sorters, Rag and Salvage  
 Stage Hands  
 Stevadores  
 Stock Handlers  
 Street Cleaners  
 Unskilled Factory Workers  
 Struckmen R.R.  
 Waitresses - Hash Houses  
 Washers, Cars  
 Window Cleaners  
 Woodchoppers  
 Coal Miners, Unspecified



APPENDIX D

NON-SIGNIFICANT TABLES FOR

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTROLS

ON CROSS-TABULATIONS BETWEEN

DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION

AND VALUE PREFERENCES









TABLE D - 2

DISTRIBUTION OF "MOST IMPORTANT VALUES" OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS

EARNING \$8,000.00 OR MORE PER YEAR

Denominational Affiliation	Values												Total			
	Material- ism, Inde- pendence			Health		Personal & Social Respect		Altruism Religion		Justice & Honesty		Family				
	N	%		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N		%		
Roman Catholic	22	14.9		24	16.2		27	18.2	11	7.4		24	16.2	40	27.0	148
Liberal Protestant	20	10.4		34	17.6		33	17.1	15	7.8		22	11.4	69	35.8	193
Anglican	12	16.2		12	16.2		12	16.2	6	8.1		10	13.5	22	29.7	74
Lutheran	6	10.5		13	22.8		5	8.8	1	1.8		12	21.1	20	35.1	57
Eastern Orthodox	1	10.0		4	40.0		1	10.0	1	10.0		2	20.0	1	10.0	10
	61	12.7		87	18.0		78	16.2	34	7.1		70	14.5	152	31.5	482

Chi-square = 15.990                      df = 20                      p < .80  
Corrected for contingency

C = .179



TABLE D - 3

DISTRIBUTION OF "MOST IMPORTANT VALUES" OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS

WITH 6 YEARS OF EDUCATION OR LESS

Denominational Affiliation	Values											
	Material- ism, Inde- pendence			Health			Personal & Social Respect			Altruism Religion		
	N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%	
Roman Catholic	23	19.2		24	20.0		7	5.8		14	11.7	
										20	16.7	
										32	26.7	
												120
Liberal Protestant	7	16.7		14	33.3		6	14.3		1	2.4	
										7	16.7	
												42
Anglican	2	13.3		2	13.3		1	6.7		4	26.7	
										3	20.0	
												15
Lutheran	3	14.3		3	14.3		1	4.8		1	4.8	
										5	23.8	
										8	38.1	
												21
Eastern Orthodox	0	--		4	40.0		1	10.0		2	20.0	
										1	10.0	
												10
	35	16.8		47	22.6		16	7.7		22	10.6	
										36	17.3	
										52	25.0	
												208

Chi-square = 15.151  
Corrected for contingency

df = 20

p < .80

C = .266













TABLE D - 6

DISTRIBUTION OF "MOST IMPORTANT VALUES" OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS WITH

SOME COLLEGE EDUCATION

Denominational Affiliation	Values											
	Material- ism, Inde- pendence		Health		Personal & Social Respect		Altruism Religion		Justice & Honesty		Family	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Roman Catholic	10	11.0	10	11.0	20	22.0	10	11.0	12	13.2	29	31.9
Liberal Protestant	8	5.8	17	12.2	25	18.0	14	10.1	24	17.3	51	36.7
Anglican	9	16.1	5	8.9	15	26.8	9	16.1	8	14.3	10	17.9
Lutheran	3	18.8	1	6.3	1	6.3	2	12.5	2	12.5	7	43.8
Eastern Orthodox	1	16.7	3	50.0	2	33.3	0	--	0	--	0	--
	31	10.1	36	11.7	63	20.5	35	11.4	46	14.9	97	31.5
												308

Chi-square = 21.506      df = 20      p < .50  
Corrected for contingency

C = .256









TABLE D - 8

DISTRIBUTION OF "MOST IMPORTANT VALUES" OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS WHOSE  
OCCUPATIONS FALL INTO HOLLINGSHEAD CATEGORIES 1, 2, AND 3

Denominational Affiliation	Values											
	Material- ism, Inde- pendence			Health			Personal & Social Respect			Altruism Religion		
	N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%	
Roman Catholic	27	14.3	20	16.0	34	18.0	21	11.1	26	13.8	61	32.3
Liberal Protestant	23	7.5	52	16.9	58	18.8	22	7.1	45	14.6	108	35.1
Anglican	17	18.5	13	14.1	14	15.2	7	7.6	18	19.6	23	25.0
Lutheran	9	21.4	8	19.0	0	--	5	11.9	7	16.7	13	31.0
Eastern Orthodox	3	30.0	2	20.0	1	10.0	0	--	1	10.0	3	30.0
	79	12.3	95	14.8	107	16.7	55	8.6	97	15.1	208	32.4
												641

Chi-square = 30.821                      df = 20                      p < .10  
Corrected for contingency  
C = .214



TABLE D - 9

DISTRIBUTION OF "MOST IMPORTANT VALUES" OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS WHOSE

OCCUPATIONS FALL INTO HOLLINGSHEAD CATEGORY 4

Denominational Affiliation	Values																	
	Material- ism, Inde- pendence			Health			Personal & Social Respect			Altruism Religion			Justice & Honesty			Family		Total
	N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%	
Roman Catholic	21	13.1	31	19.4	20	12.5	10	6.3	20	12.5	58	36.3	160					
Liberal Protestant	24	9.6	56	22.5	45	18.1	15	6.0	39	15.7	70	28.1	249					
Anglican	9	10.5	22	25.6	13	15.1	6	7.0	15	17.4	21	24.4	86					
Lutheran	6	12.5	8	16.7	7	14.6	2	4.2	6	12.5	19	39.6	48					
Eastern Orthodox	2	11.1	6	33.3	5	27.8	1	5.6	4	22.2	0	--	18					
	62	11.1	123	21.9	90	16.0	34	6.1	84	15.0	168	29.9	561					

Chi-square = 17.528                      df = 20                      p < .60  
Corrected for contingency  
C = .174



TABLE D - 10

DISTRIBUTION OF "MOST IMPORTANT VALUES" OF MEMBERS OF

DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS WHOSE

OCCUPATIONS FALL INTO HOLLINGSHEAD CATEGORY 5

Denominational Affiliation	Values											
	Material- ism, Inde- pendence			Personal & Social Respect			Altruism Religion			Justice & Honesty		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Roman Catholic	27	18.9	28	19.6	22	15.4	9	6.3	23	16.1	34	23.8
Liberal Protestant	16	9.0	37	20.7	36	20.1	12	6.8	21	11.7	57	31.8
Anglican	6	10.0	11	18.3	6	10.0	6	10.0	8	13.3	23	38.3
Lutheran	9	15.0	10	16.7	8	13.4	2	3.3	3	5.0	28	46.7
Eastern Orthodox	4	36.4	4	36.4	0	--	0	--	2	18.2	1	9.1
	62	13.7	90	19.9	72	15.9	29	6.4	57	12.6	143	31.5
												453

Chi-square =.29.418  
Corrected for contingency

df = 20

p < .10

C = .247













TABLE D - 13

DISTRIBUTION OF ANOMIE SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS  
EARNING \$8,000.00 OR MORE PER YEAR

<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Anomie Scores</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>Low (0, 1)</u>		<u>Medium (2, 3)</u>		<u>High (4, 5)</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	97	63.8	37	24.3	18	11.8	152
Liberal Protestant	139	70.6	45	22.8	13	6.6	197
Anglican	54	70.1	18	23.4	5	6.5	77
Lutheran	29	50.9	22	38.6	6	10.5	57
Eastern Orthodox	6	60.0	4	40.0	0	--	10
	<u>325</u>	<u>65.9</u>	<u>126</u>	<u>25.6</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>8.5</u>	<u>493</u>

Chi-square = 11.326      df = 8      p < .20  
Corrected for contingency

C = .150



TABLE D - 14

DISTRIBUTION OF ANOMIE SCORES OF MEMBERS OF

DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS

WITH LESS THAN 10 YEARS OF EDUCATION

<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Anomie Scores</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>Low (0, 1)</u>		<u>Medium (2, 3)</u>		<u>High (4, 5)</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	129	35.2	146	39.9	91	24.9	366
Liberal Protestant	136	46.6	95	32.5	61	20.9	292
Anglican	35	39.3	37	41.6	17	19.1	89
Lutheran	50	35.2	59	41.5	33	23.2	142
Eastern Orthodox	13	43.3	10	33.3	7	23.3	30
	<u>363</u>	<u>39.5</u>	<u>347</u>	<u>37.8</u>	<u>209</u>	<u>22.7</u>	<u>919</u>

Chi-square = 11.445      df = 8      p < .20  
Corrected for contingency

C = .111





TABLE D - 15

DISTRIBUTION OF ANOMIE SCORES OF MEMBERS OF

DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS

WITH 10 OR 11 YEARS OF EDUCATION

<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Anomie Scores</u>						<u>Total</u>
	Low		Medium		High		
	<u>(0, 1)</u>		<u>(2, 3)</u>		<u>(4, 5)</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	126	53.2	75	31.6	36	15.2	237
Liberal Protestant	196	57.1	96	28.0	51	14.9	343
Anglican	61	56.0	38	34.9	10	9.2	109
Lutheran	40	46.5	40	46.5	6	7.0	86
Eastern Orthodox	7	46.7	6	40.0	2	13.3	15
	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>
	430	54.4	255	32.3	105	13.3	790

Chi-square = 14.812      df = 8      p < .10  
Corrected for contingency

C = .136



TABLE D - 16.

DISTRIBUTION OF ANOMIE SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR  
RESPONDENTS WITH 12 YEARS OF EDUCATION

	<u>Anomie Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational</u> <u>Affiliation</u>	Low <u>(0, 1)</u>		Medium <u>(2, 3)</u>		High <u>(4, 5)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	128	59.3	68	31.5	20	9.3	216
Liberal Protestant	183	64.9	76	27.0	23	8.2	282
Anglican	59	67.8	20	23.0	8	9.2	87
Lutheran	29	50.0	23	39.7	6	10.3	58
Eastern Orthodox	5	41.7	3	25.0	4	33.3	12
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	404	61.7	190	29.0	61	9.3	655

Chi-square = 13.043      df = 8      p < .20  
 Corrected for contingency

C = .140



TABLE D - 17

DISTRIBUTION OF ANOMIE SCORES OF MEMBERS OF

DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS

WITH SOME COLLEGE EDUCATION

<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Anomie Scores</u>						<u>Total</u>
	Low (0, 1)		Medium (2, 3)		High (4, 5)		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	73	76.8	15	15.8	7	7.4	95
Liberal Protestant	110	75.9	30	20.7	5	3.4	145
Anglican	45	77.6	12	20.7	1	1.7	58
Lutheran	10	58.8	7	41.2	0	--	17
Eastern Orthodox	5	83.3	1	16.7	0	--	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	243	75.7	65	20.2	13	4.0	321

Chi-square = 7.008      df = 8      p < .70  
Corrected for contingency

C = .147



TABLE D - 18  
DISTRIBUTION OF ANOMIE SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS  
REPORTING THEIR OCCUPATION AS FARMER

	<u>Anomie Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational</u> <u>Affiliation</u>	Low <u>(0, 1)</u>		Medium <u>(2, 3)</u>		High <u>(4, 5)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	72	49.0	47	32.0	28	19.0	147
Liberal Protestant	62	54.9	36	31.9	15	13.3	113
Anglican	29	70.7	10	24.4	2	4.9	41
Lutheran	48	45.7	46	43.8	11	10.5	105
Eastern Orthodox	3	75.0	1	25.0	0	--	4
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	214	52.2	140	34.1	56	13.7	410

Chi-square = 14.710      df = 8      p < .10  
Corrected for contingency

C = .186





TABLE D - 19

DISTRIBUTION OF ANOMIE SCORES OF MEMBERS OF

DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS

WHOSE OCCUPATIONS FALL INTO HOLLINGSHEAD CATEGORIES

1, 2, AND 3

<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Anomie Scores</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>Low (0, 1)</u>		<u>Medium (2, 3)</u>		<u>High (4, 5)</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	138	70.1	53	26.9	6	3.0	197
Liberal Protestant	230	75.2	58	19.0	18	5.9	306
Anglican	76	80.0	17	17.9	2	2.1	95
Lutheran	28	65.1	11	25.6	4	9.3	43
Eastern Orthodox	6	60.0	2	20.0	2	20.0	10
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	478	73.4	141	21.7	32	4.9	651

Chi-square = 12.123      df = 8      p < .20  
Corrected for contingency

C = .135



TABLE D - 20

DISTRIBUTION OF ANOMIE SCORES OF MEMBERS OF DENOMINATIONS,  
BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS WHOSE OCCUPATIONS  
FALL INTO HOLLINGSHEAD CATEGORY 4

<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Anomie Scores</u>						<u>Total</u>
	Low <u>(0, 1)</u>		Medium <u>(2, 3)</u>		High <u>(4, 5)</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	96	59.3	49	30.2	17	10.5	162
Liberal Protestant	158	61.7	75	29.3	23	9.0	256
Anglican	53	61.6	24	27.9	9	10.5	86
Lutheran	27	55.1	14	28.6	8	16.3	49
Eastern Orthodox	11	57.9	4	21.1	4	21.1	19
	<u>345</u>	<u>60.3</u>	<u>166</u>	<u>29.0</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>10.7</u>	<u>572</u>

Chi-square = 4.154      df = 8      p < .90  
Corrected for contingency

C = .085



TABLE D - 21

DISTRIBUTION OF ANOMIE SCORES OF MEMBERS OF DENOMINATIONS,  
BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS WHOSE OCCUPATIONS  
FALL INTO HOLLINGSHEAD CATEGORY 6

	<u>Anomie Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational</u> <u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>(0, 1)</u>		<u>Medium</u> <u>(2, 3)</u>		<u>High</u> <u>(4, 5)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	47	37.3	51	40.5	28	22.2	126
Liberal Protestant	66	48.9	46	34.1	23	17.0	135
Anglican	12	32.4	20	54.1	5	13.5	37
Lutheran	14	36.8	15	39.5	9	23.7	38
Eastern Orthodox	2	22.2	4	44.4	3	33.3	9
	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>
	141	40.9	136	39.4	68	19.7	345

Chi-square = 8.930      df = 8      p < .50  
 Corrected for contingency

C = .159





TABLE D - 22

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS  
EARNING LESS THAN \$4,500.00 PER YEAR

<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>Low (3-7)</u>		<u>Medium (8-13)</u>		<u>High (14-18)</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	67	21.8	205	66.8	35	11.4	307
Liberal Protestant	55	17.9	234	76.0	19	6.2	308
Anglican	15	19.0	58	73.4	6	7.6	79
Lutheran	12	15.8	57	75.0	7	9.2	76
Eastern Orthodox	2	9.5	17	81.0	2	9.5	21
	<u>151</u>	<u>19.1</u>	<u>571</u>	<u>72.2</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>8.7</u>	<u>791</u>

Chi-square = 9.653      df = 8      p < .30  
Corrected for contingency

C = .110



TABLE D - 23

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS EARNING  
\$4,500.00 TO \$7,999.99 PER YEAR

	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Low (3-7)</u>		<u>Medium (8-13)</u>		<u>High (14-18)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	56	20.4	207	75.5	11	4.0	274
Liberal Protestant	67	19.0	264	75.0	21	6.0	352
Anglican	14	13.1	88	82.2	5	4.7	107
Lutheran	18	17.0	80	75.5	8	7.5	106
Eastern Orthodox	6	35.3	10	58.8	1	5.9	17
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	161	18.8	649	75.8	46	5.4	856

Chi-square = 7.761      df = 8      p < .50  
Corrected for contingency  
C = .095



TABLE D - 24

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS  
EARNING \$8,000.00 PER YEAR OR MORE

	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Low (3-7)</u>		<u>Medium (8-13)</u>		<u>High (14-18)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	39	26.5	104	70.7	4	2.7	147
Liberal Protestant	35	18.5	148	78.3	6	3.2	189
Anglican	12	16.2	54	73.0	8	10.8	74
Lutheran	15	26.3	41	71.9	1	1.8	57
Eastern Orthodox	3	30.0	7	70.0	0	--	10
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	104	21.8	354	74.2	19	4.0	477

Chi-square = 13.041      df = 8      p < .20  
 Corrected for contingency

C = .163



TABLE D - 25

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS  
WITH 6 OR FEWER YEARS OF EDUCATION

	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational</u> <u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>(3-7)</u>		<u>Medium</u> <u>(8-13)</u>		<u>High</u> <u>(14-18)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	33	28.0	74	62.7	11	9.3	118
Liberal Protestant	5	12.5	32	80.0	3	7.5	40
Anglican	1	9.1	10	90.9	0	--	11
Lutheran	4	20.0	11	55.0	5	25.0	20
Eastern Orthodox	1	9.1	7	63.6	3	27.3	11
	<u>44</u>	<u>22.0</u>	<u>134</u>	<u>67.0</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>11.0</u>	<u>200</u>

Chi-square = 11.654      df = 8      p < .20  
 Corrected for contingency

C = .235





TABLE D - 26

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS  
WITH 7 TO 9 YEARS OF EDUCATION

	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational</u> <u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>(3-7)</u>		<u>Medium</u> <u>(8-13)</u>		<u>High</u> <u>(14-18)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	53	22.7	164	70.4	16	6.9	233
Liberal Protestant	45	19.0	175	73.8	17	7.2	237
Anglican	8	11.0	60	82.2	5	6.8	73
Lutheran	21	17.9	90	76.9	6	5.1	117
Eastern Orthodox	4	25.0	12	75.0	0	--	16
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	131	19.4	501	74.1	44	6.5	676

Chi-square = 6.280      df = 8      p < .70  
 Corrected for contingency

C = .096



TABLE D - 27

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS  
WITH 10 OR 11 YEARS OF EDUCATION

	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational</u> <u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>(3-7)</u>		<u>Medium</u> <u>(8-13)</u>		<u>High</u> <u>(14-18)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	44	19.0	171	74.0	16	6.9	231
Liberal Protestant	60	18.4	249	76.4	17	5.2	326
Anglican	14	13.1	85	79.4	8	7.5	107
Lutheran	17	20.0	60	70.6	8	9.4	85
Eastern Orthodox	4	26.7	10	66.7	1	6.7	15
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	139	18.2	575	75.3	50	6.5	764

Chi-square = 5.128      df = 8      p < .80  
 Corrected for contingency

C = .082



TABLE D - 28

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF MEMBERS OFDENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTSWITH 12 YEARS OF EDUCATION

	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational Affiliation</u>	<u>Low (3-7)</u>		<u>Medium (8-13)</u>		<u>High (14-18)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	46	22.8	141	69.8	15	7.4	202
Liberal Protestant	48	17.7	209	77.1	14	5.2	271
Anglican	16	19.0	64	76.2	4	4.8	84
Lutheran	15	25.9	43	74.1	0	--	58
Eastern Orthodox	2	16.7	10	83.3	0	--	12
	<u>127</u>	<u>20.3</u>	<u>467</u>	<u>74.5</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>5.3</u>	<u>627</u>

Chi-square = 7.430      df = 8      p < .50  
Corrected for contingency

C = .108





TABLE D - 29

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS  
WITH SOME COLLEGE EDUCATION

	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational</u> <u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>(3-7)</u>		<u>Medium</u> <u>(8-13)</u>		<u>High</u> <u>(14-18)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	22	24.2	65	71.4	4	4.4	91
Liberal Protestant	32	23.5	101	74.3	3	2.2	136
Anglican	12	23.1	38	73.1	2	3.8	52
Lutheran	3	20.0	10	66.7	2	13.3	15
Eastern Orthodox	1	20.0	4	80.0	0	-	5
	<u>70</u>	<u>23.4</u>	<u>218</u>	<u>72.9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>3.7</u>	<u>299</u>

Chi-square = 2.987      df = 8      p < .95  
 Corrected for contingency

C = .100



TABLE D - 30

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS  
REPORTING OCCUPATION AS FARMER

	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational</u> <u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>(3-7)</u>		<u>Medium</u> <u>(8-13)</u>		<u>High</u> <u>(14-18)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	36	24.8	99	68.3	10	6.9	145
Liberal Protestant	19	17.0	86	76.8	7	6.3	112
Anglican	6	14.6	35	85.4	0	--	41
Lutheran	36	34.6	62	59.6	6	5.8	104
Eastern Orthodox	1	25.0	3	75.0	0	--	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	98	24.1	285	70.2	23	5.7	406

Chi-square = 14.928      df = 8       $p < .10$   
 Corrected for contingency

C = .188



TABLE D - 31

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS WHOSE  
OCCUPATIONS FELL INTO HOLLINGSHEAD  
CATEGORIES 1, 2, AND 3

	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational</u> <u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>(3-7)</u>		<u>Medium</u> <u>(8-13)</u>		<u>High</u> <u>(14-18)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	40	21.6	140	75.7	5	2.7	185
Liberal Protestant	69	23.2	224	75.2	5	1.7	298
Anglican	18	20.5	62	70.5	8	9.1	88
Lutheran	5	11.9	36	85.7	1	2.4	42
Eastern Orthodox	2	20.0	8	80.0	0	--	10
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	134	21.5	470	75.4	19	3.0	623

Chi-square = 13.906      df = 8       $p < .10$   
 Corrected for contingency

C = .148



TABLE D - 32

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS WHOSE  
OCCUPATIONS FELL INTO HOLLINGSHEAD CATEGORY 4

	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational</u> <u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>(3-7)</u>		<u>Medium</u> <u>(8-13)</u>		<u>High</u> <u>(14-18)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	27	17.2	120	76.4	10	6.4	157
Liberal Protestant	43	17.6	188	77.0	13	5.3	244
Anglican	8	9.3	72	83.7	6	7.0	86
Lutheran	7	15.2	37	80.4	2	4.3	46
Eastern Orthodox	3	16.7	15	83.3	0	--	18
	<u>88</u>	<u>16.0</u>	<u>432</u>	<u>78.4</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>5.6</u>	<u>551</u>

Chi-square = 4.095      df = 8      p < .90  
Corrected for contingency

C = .086





TABLE D - 33

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS WHOSE  
OCCUPATIONS FELL INTO HOLLINGSHEAD CATEGORY 5

	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational</u> <u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>(3-7)</u>		<u>Medium</u> <u>(8-13)</u>		<u>High</u> <u>(14-18)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	25	17.5	110	76.9	8	5.6	143
Liberal Protestant	27	15.4	137	78.3	11	6.3	175
Anglican	8	13.8	48	82.8	2	3.4	58
Lutheran	6	10.2	48	81.4	5	8.5	59
Eastern Orthodox	2	20.0	7	70.0	1	10.0	10
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	68	15.3	350	78.7	27	6.1	445

Chi-square = 2.498      df = 8      p < .98  
 Corrected for contingency

C = .075



TABLE D - 34

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS WHOSE  
OCCUPATIONS FELL INTO HOLLINGSHEAD CATEGORY 6

	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational</u> <u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>(3-7)</u>		<u>Medium</u> <u>(8-13)</u>		<u>High</u> <u>(14-18)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	30	24.4	82	66.7	11	8.9	123
Liberal Protestant	29	23.0	91	72.2	6	4.8	126
Anglican	8	21.1	29	76.3	1	2.6	38
Lutheran	3	8.6	27	77.1	5	14.3	35
Eastern Orthodox	5	55.6	4	44.4	0	--	9
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	75	22.7	233	70.4	23	6.9	331

Chi-square = 11.674      df = 8      p < .20  
 Corrected for contingency

C = .185



TABLE D - 35

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES OF MEMBERS OF  
DENOMINATIONS, BY AFFILIATION, FOR RESPONDENTS WHOSE  
OCCUPATIONS FELL INTO HOLLINGSHEAD  
CATEGORY 7 OR WHO WERE NOT WORKING

	<u>Protestant Ethic Scores</u>						
<u>Denominational</u> <u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>(3-7)</u>		<u>Medium</u> <u>(8-13)</u>		<u>High</u> <u>(14-18)</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Roman Catholic	56	26.2	141	65.9	17	7.9	214
Liberal Protestant	45	22.4	145	72.1	11	5.5	201
Anglican	10	17.5	45	78.9	2	3.5	57
Lutheran	5	12.2	32	78.0	4	9.8	41
Eastern Orthodox	1	6.3	12	75.0	3	18.8	16
	<u>117</u>	<u>22.1</u>	<u>375</u>	<u>70.9</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>7.0</u>	<u>529</u>

Chi-square = 10.128      df = 8      p < .30  
 Corrected for contingency

C = .137







**B29954**